



THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,

FROM THE
Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

V O L. XLI.



L O N D O N,

Printed for C. BATHURST, J. F. and C. RIVINGTON, A. HAMILTON, T. PAYNE, T. LONGMAN, S. CROWDER, B. LAW, J. ROBSON, E. NEWBERY, G. ROBINSON, T. CADELL, T. BOWLES, S. BLADON, J. MURRAY, J. NICHOLS, J. BOWEN, and W. FOX.

MDCCLXXXIV.

CAROL 50

11/11/90

9233
24/11/90

SUPPLEMEN

THE

HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND.

2 U P B M I N

—————

THE

H I S T O R Y

OF

S C O T L A N D

C O N T E N T S.

C H A P. I.

From the earliest Times, to the Reduction of the
Picts, by Kenneth Mac Alpin. Page 1

C H A P. II.

From the Death of Kenneth Mac Alpin, to the Death
of Alexander III. 17

C H A P. III.

From the Death of Alexander III. to the Death of
the Regent Duke of Albany. 69

C H A P. IV.

From the Death of the Duke of Albany, to the Death
of James V. 143

C H A P. V.

From the Death of James V. to the Accession of James
VI. to the crown of England. 229

C H A P. VI.

From the Accession of James to the Crown of Eng-
land, to the Restoration. 372

C H A P. VII.

From the Restoration, to the Union of the two
Kingdoms. 435

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

WASHINGTON, D. C.

1910

THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

TO THE HONORABLE

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

AND SENATE

AND TO THE

COMMISSIONERS OF THE LAND OFFICE

AND THE

COMMISSIONERS OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE

AND THE

COMMISSIONERS OF THE BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

AND THE

COMMISSIONERS OF THE BUREAU OF RECLAMATION

AND THE

COMMISSIONERS OF THE BUREAU OF MINES

THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.

CHAP. I.

*From the earliest Times, to the Reduction of the Piets,
by Kenneth Mac Alpin.*

IT is probable that Scotland, like the other nations of Europe, was first governed by a number of petty princes, before the whole country became subject to the dominion of one sovereign. At what time this event took place, it is impossible to ascertain with any degree of certainty; but there seems to be no doubt that the Scottish monarchy existed from a very remote period. According to historians, Fergus, commonly called the first king of Scotland, reigned three hundred and thirty years before the Incarnation; though later critics have considered the first forty-four kings as imaginary. Without examining the arguments upon which this opinion is founded, it may be sufficient to begin the narrative with Fergus the Second, the son of Erth, who is said to have been king of the Scots about the year 400. The Roman govern-

A. D. 400.

Fergus II.

government was, at this time, so pressed by the Goths and other barbarous nations, that the emperors could not conveniently afford the South Britons any farther succours, to defend them against the incursions of the northern inhabitants of the island; but they exhorted them to repair and garrison the prætentures which had formerly been erected for that purpose. These, however, were but feeble barriers against the Scots, who besides, with small ships, made frequent descents on South Britain. Again the provincial Britons transmitted to the Roman emperor the most lamentable complaints of their situation; and Gallio, of Ravenna, was sent to their relief. This general advised them to resign to the Scots all the territory on the north of Adrian's wall; and after giving them directions how to fortify it, the Romans took their final leave of the island.

Three independent kings are mentioned as reigning at this time in Britain: viz. Fergus, king of the Scots; Durstus, king of the Picts, a people who inhabited the eastern and midland parts of Scotland; and Dioneth, a British prince^a. The two first of these are said to have fallen in battle, against the Romans, in 430, about five years before that people evacuated the island.

Fergus left behind him three sons, Eugene, Dongard, and Constantius, who, being minors, were put under the guardianship of Graham, father-in-law to Fergus. This nobleman, retaining an implacable enmity to the Britons, brought into the field all the Scots who were capable of bearing arms; and the Britons were so much distressed, that they applied in the most earnest and pathetic manner to Ætius, the Roman general in Gaul, for assistance. He could give them no succour; but, by the famine which raged among their enemies as well as themselves, they obtained a short respite. In these expeditions, the Scots carried with them hooks and grappling-irons, with which they pulled the unhappy Britons from their walls, where they likewise made several breaches.

Eugene.

By this time Eugene, the eldest son of Fergus II. having, in conjunction with the king of the Picts, reduced the Britons to the most deplorable condition, granted them peace upon the following terms: that they should not send for any Roman or other foreign army to assist them; that they should not admit such, even if they came unsolicited, nor allow them to march through their country;

^a Fordun.

that they should consider the enemies of the Scots and Picts as their own also ; that, without permission of these two, they should not make peace nor war ; nor send aid to any who might desire it ; that the limits of their kingdom should be the river Humber ; that they should also make present payment of a certain sum of money by way of mulct, to be divided among the soldiers ; that the like sum should be paid by them every year ; and that they should give a hundred hostages, such as should be approved of by the confederate kings.

Upon the return of the confederates to their own country, a great revolution happened in the southern part of Britain. A number of petty tyrants arose, among whom was Vortigern, who, finding himself threatened with a fresh invasion from the North, invited the Saxons to his assistance. There is reason to believe that the Scots and Picts had made, at this time, a great progress in South Britain ; and that a battle was fought between these nations on one side, and the Saxons and Britons on the other, near Stamford, in Lincolnshire. The Scots were armed with darts and lances, and their enemies with axes and scymetars, by which the latter obtained the victory. It is uncertain whether Eugene was drowned in the Humber, or died a natural death ; but it is universally admitted that he was an excellent prince, and reigned thirty years ^b.

Eugene was succeeded by his brother Dongard, a prince *Dongard.* likewise of great merit, who endeavoured to propagate the Christian religion in his dominions, when they were invaded by the Britons in the fifth year of his reign. According to some historians, he and his allies the Picts fought, on the banks of the Humber, with the Britons a great battle, in which the latter lost sixteen thousand men, and the former fourteen thousand, with their king Dongard. It seems to be unquestionable, that Vortigern, the British prince, was persuaded to call over an additional number of Saxons to his aid ; and that, making an irruption into Scotland, they afterwards settled in Northumberland, whence they expelled the Scots. The death of Dongard is fixed to the year 465. At this time Ambrosius was king of the Southern Britons ; but it appears that the Scots and Picts now pursued opposite interests. The former were the allies of the Britons, as the latter were of the Saxons. Ohta, Hengiſt's son, and Abisa,

^b Fordun.

his nephew, brought from Germany the new recruits who peopled the northern parts of England, and were, at one time, in possession of all the country of the Meatae between the praetentures. This new colony served for a barrier to prevent the Scots from penetrating to the assistance of the Britons. Though history has not transmitted the particulars, it is certain, that, at this time, the Meatae had established a kingdom, the capital of which was Alcluyd or Areclud, near Dumbarton. The kingdom was called Regnum Cambrense, or Cumbrense; but the frequent ravages of the Picts, Scots, and Britons, seem to have rendered their territory a scene of desolation, and they were perpetually changing their masters.

Dongard was succeeded by his brother, Constantine the First, whose history is very doubtful. Buchanan and Boece represent him as a degenerated prince, and relate that his subjects rebelled against him, for having abandoned himself to every species of vice. They also censure him for making some cessions to the Britons. According to these writers, he was killed by a chief of the Ebudæ Isles, whose daughter he had debauched. Fordun, however, makes no mention of Constantine's vicious course of life, and intimates that he died in peace, in 479, after reigning twenty-two years.

Congal.

The successor to Constantine was Congal, the son of Dongard. He ratified the peace with the Britons, and in conjunction with them carried on war against the Picts. He conquered the latter, but the former were vanquished by the Saxons, notwithstanding the most vigorous efforts made in their favour by the Scots.

Gonran.

Congal dying in 501, he was succeeded by his brother Gonran, who had commanded a body of Scots against the Saxons. The death of this prince is fixed to the year 535, being the thirty-fifth year of his reign. He was buried with his predecessors in the island of Hy, now called Icolmkill; and, according to Fordun, within the church of St. Oran, or Owran.

Eugene II.

Gonran was succeeded by his nephew, Eugene II. son to Congal. This prince is reported to have died in 568, in the thirty-third year of his reign, and is commended for many excellent civil institutions which he introduced into Scotland. St. Mungo, or Kentigern, so highly celebrated in the ecclesiastical histories of that time, is supposed to have been a natural son of Eugene's, by a princess, daughter to Lothus, king of the Picts.

Eugene was succeeded by his brother Conval, who is extolled as the pattern of all princely qualities, chiefly, perhaps, on account of his extravagant liberality to St. Columba, and other prelates, who accompanied him from Ireland to Scotland. He died in 578, in the tenth year of his reign, and was succeeded by his brother Kinnatil, whose character is said to have been similar. As this prince did not reign much above a year, some of the old historians, according to Buchanan, have not admitted him into the list of kings, and suppose that Conval was succeeded by Aydan, who appears with distinguished lustre in history, his actions being recorded by the Saxons as well as the Scots. Upon the death of Gonran, who is by some said to have been murdered by his successor, Eugene III. his wife fled to Ireland with his two sons, of whom this Aydan was the younger. The story of his accession to the throne would be too ridiculous to mention, were it not a strong instance of the impostures practised by the churchmen of those times in matters of religion. St. Columba, who has been already mentioned, was not only the apostle of the Western Scots, but the first minister of their kings. Aydan, upon his return to Scotland, put himself under the tuition of the pious Columba, and resided in the isle of Hy. But as Aydan had an elder brother, Rogenan, a miraculous interposition was necessary to ascertain Aydan's right to the crown. An angel, therefore, appeared, carrying in his hand a pellucid book, in which Columba read an order, addressed to himself, that he should inaugurate Aydan in the throne. The saint offering some objections in favour of Rogenan, the angel cut him with a whip, the mark of which was visible all his life. Columba continuing refractory, the flagellation was repeated two nights; until at last, his obstinacy being overcome, he went over to Hy, where, by benediction and imposition of hands, he ordained Aydan king of Scotland. Malgo, by some called Magoclunus, then king of the Britons, renewed the ancient league between his people and the Scots; in consequence of which Aydan gave to his son Griffin, and his nephew, Brendin, king of Man, the command of a body of auxiliaries, destined to the assistance of Malgo. Being joined by a body of Northern Britons, probably the Cumbri, or Meatae, they were attacked on their route by Cutha, son of Ceaulin the Saxon king. They defeated the assailant; but were afterwards conquered by Ceaulin, who marched against them with another body of troops.

Conval.

Kinnatil.

Aydan.

Edelsfrid, king of the Northumbrian Saxons, having, in conjunction with the Picts, invaded Galloway, the inhabitants of which were now become subject to the king of Scots, Aydan marched to their assistance, and repelled the invaders; but, after some other hostilities, a truce of eleven years was concluded. According to Fordun, Aydan was so deeply affected by a defeat which he had received at Degfastan, that he died of grief at Kintyre, when he was almost eighty years of age.

*Kenneth
Kere,*

Eugene IV.

Kenneth Kere, son of Conval, succeeded Aydan, and is said to have reigned only three months. On his demise, in 606, Eugene IV. or Ethod Buyd, ascended the throne. The elevation of this prince affords another proof of Columba's influence in the affairs of government: for though, according to Fordun, he was Kenneth's fourth son, he was chosen king by the saint during the life-time of his elder brothers, who were killed soon after in battle. This prince, when on his death-bed, ordered, that, after his decease, his right hand should be cut off, and buried with his sword and armorial bearings in the southern part of his dominions, as a kind of charm against the invasions of their enemies. He died in 622, after a reign of sixteen years, leaving his crown to his son Ferchard.

Ferchard had been educated in a monastery under Conan, bishop of the Isle of Man; and is said to have entertained some singular notions in matters of religion, for which his memory has been traduced by the ecclesiastics. It is even affirmed, that his subjects committed him to prison for favouring the Pelagian heresy; and that, after consulting together on the most proper method of supplying his place, they resolved to invite to the throne Fiacre, his brother, who led a recluse life in France. Messengers were accordingly dispatched thither, where, in his hermitage, they found Fiacre a leper, as well as totally unqualified for the affairs of government. Ferchard is said to have put an end to his own life in 632, in the fourteenth year of his reign.

Donald.

The seat of the Scottish government seems, at this time, to have been still confined to Argyleshire, and the western parts, where their leaders met, and elected Donald, the third son of their late king Eugene, to fill the throne. This prince was likewise a favourite of St. Columba, who is said to have foretold his elevation to royalty when he was but a boy; with the additional, and then almost wonderful circumstance, that he should die a natural death.

Donald,

Donald, we are told, was also educated in the Isle of Man, which appears to have been at that time in the possession of Edwin, king of Northumberland; and was transported to Scotland by Conan, bishop of that island. Donald was drowned in Loch Tay, in 646, and in the fifteenth year of his reign.

He was succeeded on the throne by his nephew Fer-*Ferchard*
chard II. This prince is stigmatized by Boece and *II.*
Buchanan, as a monster of vice and tyranny; though Fordun affirms, that he reigned fourteen years in perfect tranquillity. He is said to have been wounded by a wolf; to have been excommunicated by his subject, St. Colman; and to have died a miserable death.

Malduin, the son of Donald, next succeeded to the Scot- *Malduin.*
tish throne, in 664, and lived on very bad terms with his Saxon neighbours. The Scots and Picts were, we are told, the only people that escaped a pestilence, which, at this time, desolated all the rest of Europe. Malduin proved a prince both of piety and spirit, and quelled a civil war which broke out, in his reign, between the inhabitants of Argyle and Lenox; the former being supported by the islanders, and the latter by the Gallovidians. He met, however, with a fate unworthy of his virtues. Upon the eve of a war with the Saxons, he is said to have been strangled, in a fit of jealousy by his wife, who, being afterwards apprehended, with her accomplices, was burnt alive, in the year 684.

Malduin was succeeded by his nephew Eugene V. call- *Eugene V.*
ed, in old chronicles, Eugene, or Eochol, with the Crooked Nose. Upon his accession to the throne, he concluded a truce for twelve months with Egfrid, king of Bernicia, who had dispossessed his brother Alfrid of the kingdom of Deira, and had quarrelled with the pope, and his bishop Wilfred. Egfrid having, in conjunction with the Picts, invaded Galloway, and laid siege to the castle of Donskene, Eugene took the field at the head of a strong army, and entering into a secret correspondence with the Picts, prevailed upon them to withdraw their troops from those of the turbulent Northumbrian. Egfrid, finding himself unable to oppose the united army, retired to his own dominions, after being, as Buchanan and Boece relate, defeated in a bloody battle with the Scots, who lost six thousand of their own men, but killed twenty-two thousand of their enemies. Whether or not such a battle was ever fought, there can be no question that, in the year 685, Egfrid invaded the country of the Picts, who,

by a feigned retreat, drew him towards the mountains, where his army was totally routed, and himself killed. By this victory, the Picts recovered all the territories which had been taken from them by the kings of Northumberland. The Scots and the Britons likewise shared in the spoils of this province, which, after this defeat, never recovered its former importance. Eugene V. is said to have died in the fourth year of his reign.

Eugene VI. The late king was succeeded by Eugene VI. the son of Ferchard. He was, for those times, a learned prince, having been educated under Adaman, abbot of Icolmkill. He cultivated peace with the Northumbrians; but had frequent quarrels with the Picts. He died in the tenth year of his reign.

Amberkeleth. Upon the death of Eugene, the crown devolved on Amberkeleth, nephew to Eugene V. Fordun is silent as to the vices of indolence and luxury with which this prince is accused by Boece and Buchanan. He informs us, however, that, during the year of his accession, which was in 697, he inconsiderately entered into a war with the Picts; and that, while invading their dominions, he was killed with an arrow, in a thick wood.

Eugene VII. Amberkeleth was succeeded by his brother Eugene VII. who married Spondana, daughter of Garnard, king of the Picts, with whom he also concluded a peace. Spondana is said to have been murdered by two assassins, brothers, instead of her husband, who had put their father to death. The Picts, suspecting Eugene to have been her murderer, prepared to revenge her assassination. A part of the Scottish nobility likewise inclining to the same opinion, the king was called upon to prove his innocence before the states of his kingdom. But while this measure was in agitation, the murderers were apprehended, convicted, and died in the acknowledgement of their crime. After this, Eugene convoked an assembly of the most learned men in his dominions, and ordered them to compose the history of his predecessors; which, after being completed, was deposited in the monastery of Icolmkill. This prince was a generous benefactor to the priests; and repaired, or re-built, several churches. He died in 715, in the seventeenth year of his reign. He is represented as a modest, affable prince, devoted to peace; and, though addicted to hunting, not neglectful of the interests of his country, which he promoted by many wholesome laws.

c Fordun.

Murdac,

Murdac, the son of Amberkeleth, next mounted the throne; and imitated his predecessor in cultivating the arts of peace. This prince was also a great benefactor to the church; and, according to some authors, founded or repaired the monastery of Candida Casa, or Whithorn, in Galloway; though others suppose that province to have been then in the possession of the English. After a peaceable reign, he died in 734.

Murdac was succeeded by Ethfin, son of Eugene VII. a *Ethfin.* pacific prince likewise, as well as a wise justiciary. In the decline of life, being oppressed with infirmities, he resigned the management of affairs to Donald, thane of Argyll; Cullen, thane of Athol; Murdac, thane of Galloway; and Conrith, thane of Murray. Under this delegated government, every thing fell into confusion; each regent favouring his own dependents, and endeavouring to extend his own power. Donald, lord of the Isles, availing himself of the public distractions, laid waste the whole country of Galloway; in which act of depredation he was countenanced by Murdac. This melancholy state of the kingdom affected Ethfin so sensibly, that he died of grief, in 762, and in the thirteenth year of his reign.

The successor of Ethfin was Eugene VIII. the son of *Eugene VIII.* Murdac; a prince of great valour and resolution, who, in order the more effectually to remedy the distractions of his kingdom, continued the peace which had been concluded by his predecessors with the Picts, Britons, and Saxons. He defeated, made prisoner, and put to death, the lord of the Isles, with his confederate, the thane of Galloway; and punished the other regents who had abused their power. It is said, that, having restored tranquillity to his kingdom, he became indolent, avaricious, and tyrannical, until at last he was put to death by his nobles, for passing an unjust sentence upon a rich man, in 763, and was buried with his predecessors at Icolmkill^d.

Fergus the Third, by some called the Second, the son of *Fergus III.* Ethfin, next ascended the throne. According to Fordun, this prince was poisoned by his queen, in a fit of jealousy. The perpetrator of the crime being unknown, several innocent persons were put to the torture, upon suspicion; when the queen, struck with remorse, openly confessed her guilt, and plunged a dagger into her own breast, in a public assembly of the people. The death

^d Chron. Mel.

of Fergus happened in the third year of his reign, which coincides with the year of our Lord 766.

*Solvaith,
or Selva.*

He was succeeded by Solvaith, or Selva, son of Eugene VIII. This prince, about the third year of his reign, was attacked with a violent gout, or rheumatism, during which complaint his dominions were invaded by Donald Bane, or the White, who stiled himself king of the Ebudæ. The king, being unable to take the field in person, gave the command of his army to Cullan and Duchal, the thanes of Argyle and Athol, who defeated the invader, and drove him into a desile, where he and his followers were all put to death. Gyllequham, who was confederated with Donald, invaded Galloway at the same time, and underwent the same fate. After reigning twenty-one years, Solvaith died in 787, worn out with pain and infirmity.

Achaius.

The successor to Solvaith was the famous Achaius, son of Ethfin. Upon his accession, the Irish (or more probably the Danes, who were at this time settling plantations in Ireland) made a descent upon Kintyre, where they were repulsed by the valour of the inhabitants. Achaius, whose disposition, like those of his predecessors, was pacific, was then employed in the civil regulations of his kingdom, and in sending an embassy to accommodate matters with the Irish; but the latter rejected the terms proposed, and invaded some of the islands of Scotland, which they ravaged. In their return home, their ships were attacked by a storm, and few of them reached land. The Ursperg Chronicle mentions an army which Charles the Great sent, about this time, to England, under Andolph, who compelled the English Saxons to give him hostages for their good behaviour; and these Andolph, upon his return, presented to Charles, at Worms.

In this reign, it is said that Charles sent ambassadors to Scotland, requesting from Achaius some learned men to propagate the languages and sciences in his dominions, and offering the Scottish king his friendship. Upon this occasion, Achaius convened a council of his nobility; when some of them, particularly Colman, thane of Mar, were of opinion, that the friendship of the Saxons would be of greater advantage to the nation than an alliance with Charles. These were answered by Alban, thane of the Isles, whose opinion was espoused by the majority; and a league was accordingly concluded with Charles. The conditions

conditions of this treaty were the following: 1. That whatever injury was done by the Saxons to either nation, should be considered as done to both. 2. When the French are invaded by the Saxons, the Scots shall send an army to assist them; which army is to be maintained by the French king. 3. That, when the Scots are invaded by the Saxons, the French king will send an army to their assistance, upon his own expences. 4. That if any of the people of other nations, during the time of war, shall harbour, support, or protect any Saxon, they shall be deemed guilty of lèse majesty by them both. 5. That neither peace should be concluded with, nor war declared against, the Saxons, without the consent of both nations. 6. That an authentic copy of this league should be kept in both kingdoms, subscribed by the kings, and both their seals appended to it. Notwithstanding the appearance of authenticity, it has been suspected by a Scottish historian, that the whole detail of this transaction is a French forgery, calculated to cherish between France and Scotland that connection, which afterwards proved so extremely beneficial to the former.

William, brother to Achaius, was, previous to this alliance, once of the chief officers under Charles. After performing many glorious achievements against the infidels, he embraced a religious life, and founded a number of monasteries for his countrymen in Germany and other places.

It is said that Achaius married Fergusiana, daughter to Hungus, king of the Picts; and that he lent his father-in-law ten thousand Scots, to repel the invasions of Athelstan. But who this Athelstan was is uncertain, as no such king is to be found in the annals of England at that period. Achaius died in peace, in 819, after having wore the Scottish crown thirty-two years.

Though Achaius left a son, who had commanded his armies with reputation, he was succeeded on the throne by his nephew Conval; of whom we know no more than that he reigned in peace five years. *Conval.*

The prince who next ascended the throne was Dongal, the son of Solvaith. The harmony which had hitherto subsisted between the Scots and Picts began now to be interrupted by events which should naturally have cemented it. There is great reason for believing, that, under Achaius, the Pictish territories were much more extensive than those of the Scots, who were still confined to the western parts. On the other hand, the Scots seem to have possessed

Dongal.

possessed a more enterprising and warlike disposition, and were fond of serving in foreign armies; a circumstance which accounts for the superiority they enjoyed over the Picts in the field. At this time, the Scottish possessions, which were denominated the kingdom of Dalrieta, or Dalriada, included all the western islands, with the counties of Lorn, Argyle, Knapdale, Kyle, Kintyre, Lochaber, and a part of Braid-Albayn. The Pictish kingdom comprehended all the rest of the north of Scotland, from the Friths to the Orkneys, exclusive of a considerable part of Northumberland. These observations are necessary to understand the subsequent transactions.

Some of the subjects of Dongal being disgusted with his government, applied to Alpin to assert his hereditary right to the throne; but it plainly appears, that the collateral was at this time the legal succession to the crown of Scotland. Alpin, instead of accepting this invitation, disclosed it to Dongal, who treated him with the greatest affection and tenderness; and, in consideration of the merits of his father Achais, was willing, if the states of his kingdom would consent, to resign the crown in his favour. Alpin, however, contented himself with clearing up his own innocence, in respect to his entertaining any design upon the sovereignty of the kingdom. The malecontents, or more properly the conspirators, on the other hand, accused him of attempting to corrupt their loyalty. But Dongal, assembling an army, apprehended and punished as many of them as he could find.

About this time died Hungus, king of the Picts. His elder son, Dorstolog, was murdered by his second son, Egan, who in his turn was assassinated by his brother's widow. The male line of the Pictish monarchy thus becoming extinct, the succession to it was claimed by Dongal, king of the Scots. Upon what principle this claim was founded cannot now be ascertained. That such a claim, however, was preferred, is unquestionable; as well as that it was rejected by the Picts, who, resolving to maintain the independency of their crown, chose for their king Feret, or Wred, one of the chief of their nobility. Dongal sent an ambassador to remonstrate against this election; but the Picts, understanding the purpose of his journey, refused him an audience. Upon the ambassador's return Dongal raised an army. Before he had recourse, however, to force, he sent a fresh embassy, with the view of terminating the dispute, if possible, by an amicable accommodation. But the ambassadors were met

on

on the road by a herald at arms, who in the name of king Feret commanded them to proceed no farther, and to retire from his dominions. Every thing was now ready for commencing hostilities, when, according to Boece, Dongal was drowned in crossing the Spey, though it be left doubtful whether he was not killed in warⁿ.

Upon the death of Dongal, Alpin mounted the throne of Scotland in 831. Being at the head of an army he immediately marched against Feret, who was encamped near Forfar. A bloody battle ensued; and though the Picts lost their king, the Scots had no reason to boast of the victory. Alpin, next morning, upon reviewing his army, found that one-third of his men had perished in the field. But after plundering the camp of the Picts, who had retired from the field of battle, he returned to his own dominions with the air of a conqueror. *Alpin.*

The Picts chose Brudus, Feret's son, to succeed him; but, before he had reigned a twelvemonth, put him to death on account of his stupidity and indolence. They next chose his brother Kenneth, who proved a coward, and, as such, while flying from the enemy, was killed by a countryman, who did not know him. The successor to these was another Brudus, a brave and spirited prince. Resolving to hazard his all in support of his independency, he raised a great army, to act against the Scots. Before he entered upon hostilities, however, he offered to accommodate their dispute; but Alpin refused to accept of any other terms than an absolute surrender of the crown. Upon this the Pictish king sent a message to Edwin, king of Northumberland, with a large sum of money, to engage his assistance against the Scots. Edwin took the money, and promised the assistance; but afterwards pretended that he was involved in civil wars of his own, and that the king of France had interposed his authority in favour of the Scots.

Notwithstanding this disappointment, Brudus marched his army from Dunkeld into Angus, where that of the Scots lay near Dundee. It is said, that on this occasion, Brudus ordered all the useless attendants, and even the women, to mount on horseback, and shew themselves to the enemy as soon as the battle should begin. This stratagem had the desired effect. For, in the heat of the engagement, while both sides were fighting with the most determined fury, the sight of this supposed reinforcement

ⁿ Fordum.

threw the Scots into a panic, from which all the efforts of Alpin could not recover them. They immediately fled; and were pursued with great slaughter. Alpin, and the chief of his nobility were made prisoners. The latter were put to death on the spot; but the king was ignominiously bound, and, all ransom being refused for his life, he was beheaded at a place which, from his name, is at present called Pitalpy, but in former times, Bas Alpine, an appellation which, in the Gaelic or Celtic language, signifies *the death of Alpin*. His head was afterwards exposed from a wall, upon a pole^d.

Alpin left a son, named Kenneth, who was the first sole king of that part of the island properly called Scotland; and from him the succession of the Scottish monarchs may be clearly deduced. As he appears to have been of age at the time of his father's death, and was a brave and accomplished prince, the Scots did not hesitate to receive him as his father's successor to the throne.

The Picts, not satisfied with the barbarous murder of Alpin, made a law, which they confirmed with an oath, that it should be death for any man to propose a peace with the Scots, whom they doomed to total extermination. Some of the wisest of the nobility were expelled the assembly for opposing this law. Factions now began to be formed among the Picts; and while they were marching against the Scots, broke out among themselves into dissensions, which were attended with great bloodshed. Their king endeavoured to appease them; but finding it impracticable, he disbanded his army, and soon after, dying of grief, was succeeded by his brother Drusken. This prince also failed in his endeavours to compose the dissensions of his subjects, by which the Scots gained some respite.

Though Kenneth was intent upon revenging his father's death, he found his nobles entirely averse to renewing the war with the Picts. To conquer their obstinacy, he is said to have made use of the following stratagem. Inviting them to an entertainment, he, in the middle of the night, introduced into the hall, where they slept, a person clothed in fish-skins, or robes which made so luminous an appearance, that they took him for an angel; especially when he thundered into their ears, through a long tube prepared for the purpose, the most dreadful denunciations, if they did not immediately declare war

^d Fordun.

against the Picts, the murderers of their late king. Considering the ignorance of the age, the story is more ridiculous than incredible. Next morning all mouths were filled with the extraordinary incident, of which Kenneth affirmed that he had likewise been a witness. A resolution was immediately embraced to raise an army against the Picts. The juncture was favourable for Kenneth, on account not only of the domestic contentions which prevailed among the Picts, but of some descents made upon their territories by the Danes. The Picts, however, were not negligent in preparing to defend themselves. They had, by this time, obtained some English auxiliaries; and Kenneth having, if we may credit Fordun, passed the vast ridge of mountains called Drumalban, gave to his soldiers, as the military word, "The Death of Alpin." The first battle is said to have been fought near Stirling, where the Picts, being as some historians say, deserted by their English auxiliaries, were entirely defeated. Drusken escaped by the swiftness of his horse. In a few days after the battle, he made pacific overtures to Kenneth, who, imitating the conduct of his father Alpin, demanded a surrender of all the Pictish dominions. But this proposal being rejected, the war was continued. Kenneth soon conquered the Merns, Angus, and Fife; but while he was marching against Stirling, he received intelligence of a general insurrection of the Picts, who had cut off his garrisons, and were again with Drusken at their head. Kenneth was now encamped near Scone; and the Picts under Drusken coming up, both armies drew out in order of battle. Drusken, however, to save the effusion of blood, demanded of Kenneth an interview, which was readily granted. The Pictish prince rejecting the terms offered by the king of the Scots, which were, to yield to him in perpetual sovereignty Fife, Merns, and Angus, both sides prepared for a decisive battle.

The Scottish army consisted of three divisions. The first was commanded by one Bar; the second by Dongal, a nobleman; and the third by Donald, the king's brother. Kenneth put himself at the head of some cavalry, as a body of reserve. A desperate engagement ensued, in which Drusken, after leading his forces seven different times to the charge, was slain, and the Picts defeated with great slaughter. His armour was presented to Kenneth, who sent it to be hung up at Icolmkill.

Kenneth, pursuing the advantage he had obtained by this victory, laid siege to the Pictish capital, which
the

*Subversion
of the
Pictish go-
vernment.*

the Scottish writers call Camelon; but unless by this name be meant Abernethy, the situation of the place is unknown. In this enterprize Kenneth met with an obstinate resistance; but at last he granted the besieged a truce for three days. During this interval they prepared for a vigorous fall, in which they were with great difficulty driven back to the city, after killing six hundred of their enemies. The Scots, however, persisted in their efforts to reduce the place; and the Picts, though labouring under all the miseries of famine, defended themselves with great bravery for above four months. At last, the town was taken by surprize, and all the inhabitants put to the sword. The reduction of Camelon was followed by that of the Maiden-Castle, now called the castle of Edinburgh, which was abandoned by its garrison, who took refuge in Northumberland^a.

This period is generally fixed upon as the end of the Pictish government; but to imagine, with some, that Kenneth extirminated the whole race, is not only absurd, but contrary to the plainest evidence. For the Picts are expressly mentioned by old writers, as a people existing three hundred years after this time.

Kenneth survived this grand epoch in the Scottish history sixteen years, and is said to have died at Fort Teviot, called in an ancient chronicle Forthuirtabaicht. This fort had been one of the Pictish palaces, situated near Dupplin, in Perthshire, where the place still retains its name. Kenneth is said to have been the author of many salutary laws, called by his own name, the laws of Mac Alpin. He removed from Argyleshire to Scone, the famous stone (now to be seen in Westminster-Abbey) which the Scots, with a national enthusiasm, regarded as the palladium of their monarchy. Scone had been held in the highest veneration by the Picts, and was pitched upon by Kenneth as the place of inauguration for his successors.

^a Fordun.

C H A P. II.

From the Death of Kenneth Mac Alpin, to the Death of Alexander III.

KENNETH was succeeded by Donald, his brother, *Donald.* who reigned four years; at whose death, Constantine, *Constantine.* his nephew, the son of Kenneth Mac Alpin, ascended the throne. At this time Denmark and the northern nations sent over great numbers of their inhabitants to Scotland as well as England. Upon the landing of a body of these emigrants in the North, Constantine offered them a friendly reception in his harbours, as well as provisions for their money. This, with the situation of their countrymen in England, whom they were bent on assisting, procured the Scottish king some respite from their depredations. Meanwhile, Ewen of the Isles broke out in rebellion, and seized the castle of Dunstaffnage; but this insurrection was soon quelled, and the rebel put to death.

About the same time, some Picts, who had fled to *Invasion of the Danes.* Denmark, prevailed upon the king of that country to send his two brothers, Hungar and Hubba, to recover the Pictish dominions from Constantine. These princes accordingly landed, with a considerable force, on the coast of Fife, where they committed the most horrid barbarities; even murdering the ecclesiastics who took refuge in the island of May, at the mouth of the Forth. Constantine soon put himself at the head of an army, and, near the water of Leven, defeated the division of the Danes commanded by Hubba; but afterwards attacking that under Hungar, he was in his turn totally routed; and being made prisoner, was carried to a cave, since called the Devil's Cave, where he was beheaded by the enemy. The Scots are said to have lost ten thousand men in this action. Constantine, at the time of his death, in 874, had reigned sixteen years.

Constantine was succeeded by his brother Eth, sur- *Eth.* named, from his agility, the Swiftfoot. He reigned but one year, and being killed at Inneroury, was buried at Icolmkill.

The prince who next mounted the throne was Gregory, *Gregory the Great.* deservedly distinguished by the appellation of the Great. The extreme cruelties committed by the Danes in England, and the inability of the Saxon princes, even of Alfred the Great, to protect their northern dominions, induced many

many of the inhabitants to put themselves under the protection of Gregory, and to pay him fealty and homage. Gregory, having taken care, by several acts of munificence, to secure the clergy on his side, convened an assembly of the states at Forfar, whence, after making several regulations, he marched against the Picts, whom the Danes had left in possession of Fife. They, unable to resist his power, went over to the Lothians, and thence to the north of England, to join their confederates the Danes, who were now in possession of York, and masters of all Northumberland. The Picts and Danes, having, in their way to the south, thrown a garrison into Berwick, Gregory marched thither with a body of troops, in order to reduce it. He no sooner appeared before the town, than the inhabitants received him within the walls, where the Danish part of the garrison was put to the sword, and the Pictish made prisoners. From Berwick, Gregory pursued the Danes, under their leader Hardnute, or rather Halden, into Northumberland, where he defeated them; and having expelled them that province, he passed the winter in Berwick.

It is certain that a great friendship subsisted between Alfred and Gregory, and that the former agreed to yield to the latter, all the lands which had once belonged to the Scots and Pict between the two prætentures. Early in the spring, after the defeat of Halden, Gregory took the field against the Cumbrian Britons, who had recovered Dumbarton and the adjacent provinces, which had belonged to their ancestors, formerly expelled by the Scots and Picts. The Britons soon agreed to an accommodation; by which they ceded all the lands they possessed, formerly belonging to the Scots; and Gregory undertook to protect them against the incursions of the Danes. This accommodation, however, had proceeded chiefly from the terror of the Danish arms. For no sooner had Alfred the Great defeated the Danes in England, than Constantine, king of the Cumbrians (the greater part of whose subjects was originally Picts) violated the convention concluded with Gregory, and invaded Annandale. But being encountered by the Scottish king, he was defeated and killed near Lochmaben. Herbert, who succeeded his brother Constantine, would have gladly adhered to the terms of the late treaty; but his offers were rejected by Gregory, who made himself master of Cumberland and Westmoreland, which appear to have been then occupied by the Cumbrian Britons and Picts.

A war soon after broke out between the Scots and the Irish, who had intimate connections with each other. The name of the king of Ireland, at this time, is said to have been Donach; but being a minor, his authority was usurped by two of his noblemen, Brian and Corneil. Donach was nearly related to Gregory, who naturally declared himself against the two factious noblemen; and the Irish having, under pretence of making reprisals, invaded Galloway, he drove them back, with loss, to their ships, and afterwards passed over in person to Ireland. The two noblemen, who had before been enemies to each other, upon Gregory's landing, joined their forces, and prepared to dispute with him the passage of the river Bane, which if not effected, he would be obliged to return for want of provisions. Gregory, however, found means to get possession of an eminence, whence he forced Brian's entrenchments, and killed that chieftain, as well as a number of his followers. Corneil, upon this disaster, retreated into the more inaccessible parts of the island; while the Scottish king reduced Dungard and Pont, by which we are to understand Dundalk and Drogheda. Gregory, on his march thence to Dublin, was opposed by a great army under the command of Corneil, who was defeated and killed by the Scots. After this victory, the king continued his march to Dublin, where young Donach resided. On his arrival in the capital, into which he was conducted with great solemnity by a deputation, at the head of which was bishop Cormac, in his pontifical vestments, he declared himself guardian to the young prince, while under age; appointed a regency; and obliged them to swear that they never would admit into their land either a Dane or an Englishman, without his permission. He afterwards placed garrisons in the strongest fortresses of the kingdom, and returned to Scotland; but, when Donach came of age. Gregory recalled his troops. Gregory was a great benefactor to the church, and built the city of Aberdeen. He finished a life of action and of glory at his castle of Dundore, in the Garioch, in the year 892, and was buried with his ancestors at Icolmkill^u.

Gregory the Great was succeeded by Donald III. son of Donald Ist. Constantine, who imitated the virtues of his predecessor. This prince sent Alfred a body of troops, who did that celebrated monarch considerable service in his wars with the

^b Buchanan.

Danes. While Donald was employed in settling his affairs in the South, his dominions in the North were harassed by bands of robbers from Murray and Ross. Returning thither, therefore, he bravely encountered them near Forres, where he totally defeated them, and killed some thousands. It seems not improbable, from the Little Chronicle, that those robbers were no other than Danes from the continent, who, perhaps, might have been joined by some of the Picts of Ross and Murray. They appear to have been twice defeated by the Scots; first, near Cul-len, in Banffshire, and afterwards at Forres.

It is universally agreed by historians, that Donald died at Forres soon after his victory, in the year 903, and the eleventh of his reign. Fordun intimates that his death, if not occasioned by his great fatigues, was owing to poison. He was buried at Icolmkill.

*Constantine
III.*

The prince who next ascended the throne was Constantine III. the son of Eth Swiftfoot. Edward the Elder, who was now king of England, grew uneasy at seeing the Scots in possession of the northern provinces; and made such extravagant demands upon Constantine as induced that prince to enter into a confederacy with the Danes; which, however, lasted only two years. Soon after, Edward making great preparations for war, the Danes applied to Constantine to renew their former league, and to take them under his protection. Having obtained this request, they confirmed all their engagements by oath. Malcolm, but according to Fordun Eugene; son of the late king Donald, was then presumptive heir to the crown of Scotland; to whom Constantine, with great wisdom, assigned the Scottish possessions between the prætentures, as his appenage, on condition of his residing there, and defending them against all invaders. It was not long before Malcolm was obliged to take the field at the head of a body of troops by way of auxiliaries to the Danes. Athelstan, the natural son of Edward, at that time, commanded for his father, in the North of England. Being in no condition to resist the confederate forces of the Scots and Danes he remained upon the defensive, to observe the motions of the former. Perceiving they were chiefly intent on plunder, he offered them battle; but politically retiring from the field, while the Scots were busy in pillaging his camp, Athelstan rallied his army, and cut both the Scots and Danes to pieces; prince Malcolm himself being carried wounded out of the field^b.

This victory raised Edward to the summit of glory ; and perhaps, Constantine, rather than endanger his hereditary dominions, might pay fealty to Edward for the territories he held south of Forth, as did Reginald, king of the Northumbrian Danes, and the Britons of Strathclyde. But there appears no reason for extending this homage to the counties north of Forth.

Upon the accession of Athelstan, Edward the Elder's son, to the crown of England, several conspiracies were formed against him, which encouraged the northern Danes to take arms, and surprise York and Davenport. They were headed by one of their princes, named Sithric, who became so formidable, that Athelstan entered into a treaty with him, and gave him his sister in marriage. Sithric, however, did not long survive the nuptials. He was succeeded by his son Guthred, who, endeavouring to throw off Athelstan's yoke, was defeated, and fled into Scotland. Athelstan then laid siege to York, which he took ; and advancing to Scotland, demanded that Constantine would deliver up Guthred, and his brother Anlaf. Constantine, not choosing either to provoke the English monarch, or to violate the rights of hospitality, desired a conference with him ; which took place at Dakers, in Northumberland. This meeting has been variously represented. The English historians allege, that Constantine met Athelstan as a vassal ; and not only surrendered to him the superiority of all dominions, but gave his son as a hostage for his obedience. We know of no son that Constantine then had, unless it was the infant to whom, according to William of Malmesbury, Athelstan stood godfather at the font. The disagreement, and, indeed, the mistakes found among the English historians at this period, it must be acknowledged, exposes their credibility to suspicion. It is most probable, that the two kings accommodated affairs at the conference, upon Constantine's promising to withdraw his protection from Guthred ; who, with his brother Anlaf, was permitted to make his escape to Yorkshire, where he renewed hostilities.

But the interview of the two kings was not productive of a lasting amity. In the year 938, the combined army of the Scots and Irish, under Anlaf, son-in-law to Constantine, landed at the mouth of the Humber ; and advancing into the country, were joined by the prince of Cumberland, called by Fordun Eugene. Athelstan soon put himself at the head of an army ; and both parties having encamped in sight of each other, they determined

to come speedily to a decisive action. While they were making the necessary dispositions, Anlaf, in imitation of Alfred, who had undertaken a similar adventure some years before, disguised himself like a harper, and entering the English camp, after entertaining Athelstan with his music, and observing the situation of his army, was dismissed with a handsome reward. An English or Danish soldier, who had served under Anlaf, recollected him through his disguise, and, watching his motions, saw him bury, in a corner of the English camp, the gratuity he had received. After Anlaf's departure, the soldier acquainted Athelstan with what he had observed; and, by his advice, the king exchanged tents with a bishop, who was slain that very night in an irruption made by Anlaf, who thought he had killed the English monarch ^b.

Both armies were encamped at a place called Bruneford, and by Fordun, Brounyngfeld, near the Humber. It appears that the Scots expected to be joined by a body of Welch, as they had been by some Danes under Froda. They were disappointed, however, through the vigilance of Athelstan, who, understanding that the Irish, under Anlaf, had been greatly fatigued by their nocturnal irruption, and perhaps apprehensive that they might be joined by the Welch, resolved to attack them in their entrenchments. The Scots were commanded by Constantine, the Irish by Anlaf, the Cumbrians by their own prince, and the Danes by Froda. Athelstan had under him his brother Edmund, and Turketil, his favourite general. They entered the entrenchments of the confederates sword in hand; but the chief resistance they met with was from the Scots, who were attacked by the flower of the English army under Turketil. It is universally agreed, that after an obstinate contest, Athelstan obtained a most complete victory, though not without considerable loss. Among the slain were his two cousin-germans, Edwin and Ethelwin. This battle proved fatal to the Scots; for the active Athelstan invaded their country, and stripped them of all the provinces which they held south of Forth.

Malcolm.

Constantine being now old, and dispirited by the misfortunes of his country, soon after the battle of Bruneford, resigned his crown to Malcolm, and retired to the monastery of the Culdees, at St. Andrew's, where, five years after, in 943, he died and was buried.

^b Buchanan.

The great progress which the Danes had made in England against Edmund the First, son to Athelstan, induced that prince to strengthen his connections with Malcolm. Having, therefore, recovered the territory of the Cumbrians, which had revolted, he offered it to Malcolm, on condition of his holding it as a fee of the crown of England, and of his being ready to assist him both by sea and land on any pressing emergency. Malcolm, it seems, proving a severe justiciary, was murdered by a conspiracy of robbers, at Ulrine in the county of Murray, in the year 952, and fifteenth of his reign^b.

Indulf, son of the late king Constantine, succeeded Malcolm, whose son Duff was created prince of Cumberland. Indulf, sensible of the barbarity of the Danes, cultivated the friendship of the Anglo-Saxon kings. The connections between him and Edred exasperated the Danes so highly, that, after Edred's death, they invaded Scotland with a fleet of fifty ships; having first laid waste the most southern coasts of England. This descent alarmed the islanders as well as the Scots, whom the Danes now hated as much as they did the English. They were, however, expelled from the East Lothian; and crossing over to Fife, they were defeated there likewise. Indulf seems to have paid great attention to the security of his coasts. For, notwithstanding the advantage the Danes enjoyed in their shipping, they could not effect another debarkation, until, seeming to steer for their own country, the Scots were thrown off their guard, and their enemies all of a sudden landed at Cullen, in Banffshire. Indulf soon came up with them, and attacked them in their camp, whence he drove them towards their ships, but was killed in an ambuscade into which he fell during the pursuit.

Indulf was succeeded by Duff, who is said to have been the son of Malcolm, and an excellent prince. He appears to have been the terror of rebels, thieves, and robbers. The story of his health being affected by a magical image melting before a fire, is agreeable to the monkish fictions of that age. Even Fordun has not mentioned it; but informs us, that the king, in his pursuit of robbers through all their haunts, especially in Murray, was so incautious, that some conspirators broke into his bed-chamber in the night, and murdered him. The leader of the conspiracy is said to have been Donald, governor

Duff.

of the town and castle of Forres, who was instigated to this treason by his wife, in revenge for the king's having refused to pardon some of her relations. He died in the year 965, and the fifth of his reign.

Culen.

Culen, the son of Indulf, had been nominated prince of Cumberland in his father's reign, as heir apparent to the crown. This prince is said to have indulged himself in licentiousness, to a degree which is almost incredible. The principal charge against him is an unbounded passion for women. But the truth is, he must have been more than man to be guilty of all the acts of incontinency mentioned by Buchanan and Boece, who not only accuse him of fornication and adultery with women of all ranks, but even of incest with his own sisters and daughters. The king's example infected his subjects; and he apologized for his conduct, by pretending that he wanted to soften their manners. The wiser part of the nobility withdrew from court; and the subjects were fleeced to supply the monarch's vices and luxuries. While the kingdom thus became the scene of public rapine, an assembly of the states was convened at Scone, for re-establishing order in the government; but when Culen was on his journey thither, to preside at the assembly, he was assassinated, near the village of Methven, by Rohard, thane or sheriff of Fife, whose daughter the king is said to have deflowered.

*Kenneth
III.*

On the death of Culen, who was murdered in the fifth year of his reign, Kenneth III. succeeded to the crown, and his administration forms a remarkable period in the Scottish history. This prince acceded to the throne in the time of public disorder, and foreign invasion. The younger part of the nobility was so infected with licentiousness, as to seem utterly irreclaimable. This, however, did not discourage Kenneth, who was a prince of invincible resolution. He began with reforming his own court and family; and had the sagacity to perceive that he must effect his purpose by favouring the liberties of the common people against the oppressions of the nobility, which were now become intolerable. He pursued this plan with so much success, that having nothing to fear from the great barons, he ordered them to appear before him at Lanerk; but the majority, conscious of their demerits, did not attend. The king, whose prudence was equal to his resolution, dissimulated his displeasure; and proceeded to Galloway, where he performed his devotions at the shrine of the popular St. Ninian.

Next year he appointed another meeting of his states at Scone, where the assembly was very numerous; the guilty *Assembly of the States.* part of the nobility, being encouraged, by the king's former mildness and moderation, to make their appearance. Kenneth had so well concerted his measures, that all of a sudden the place of meeting was surrounded with armed men. Even the innocent part of the assembly, being unacquainted with the king's design, discovered manifest signs of emotion. But he soon dissipated their fears by a speech, in which he informed them, that none but the guilty had any thing to apprehend; that his purpose was to encourage industry; and that he was determined at all events, to bring rebels and robbers to public justice. He then ordered such of the nobility as were known to protect and encourage the most notorious delinquents, to be taken into custody; and he intimated, that their peaceably submitting to justice, should be the price of their liberty.

The nobles accepted of the offer made by the king, who was so well informed, that he laid before the assembly the names of the chief malefactors whom he intended to bring to punishment. The assembly immediately issued orders for apprehending the criminals; and they were punished according to their offences. Though the conduct of the king in this transaction, doubtless, favoured of arbitrary principles, it was justified by the character of the times, and the necessity of the measure; and he secured the affections of his nobles by magnificent presents, and his generous manner of treating them.

During the reign of Kenneth, the Danes again appeared off the coast of Angus, and landed at Montrose; whence proceeding southwards, they committed the most horrible ravage in all the country through which they passed. The king was then at Stirling, unprepared to resist these barbarians. The exigency of affairs would only permit him to assemble a handful of men in haste. With these, however, he cut off the stragglers, and checked their plundering; but could not prevent the great body of the invaders from besieging Perth. By this time, the king had been joined by a considerable number of his subjects, and was encamped near the confluence of the Tay and the Earn. Advancing to raise the siege, he found the enemy possessed of the rising ground. A battle ensued, in which Kenneth exhibited signal proofs of his valour. Malcolm, prince of Cumberland, commanded the right wing of the Scottish army; the thane of Athol the left; and the king led up the centre in person. Previous to the engagement, he is

*Battle of
Luncarty.*

said to have promised ten pounds in silver, or the value of it in land, for the head of every Dane which should be brought to him; besides an immunity from all taxes to the soldiers who served in his army, if they should prove victorious^d. The truth of this anecdote, however, seems questionable, considering the innate antipathy which had always subsisted between the Scots and the Danes, and the great difficulty that Kenneth must have found in fulfilling such engagements.

This battle was so desperately fought by the invaders, that the Scots, notwithstanding the noble example set them by their monarch in person, must have been totally routed, had it not been for a yeoman and his two sons, of the name of Hay, who were coming up to the combat, armed with such rustic weapons as their condition in life afforded them. Partly by threats, and partly by calling out that help was at hand, the three brave countrymen stopped the Scots at a narrow pass; and persuading them to rally, they led the troops once more against the enemy. The fight was now renewed with such fury on the part of the Scots, that the Danes were entirely defeated. After the battle, the king rewarded Hay with the barony of Errol, in the Carle of Gowry, ennobled his family, and gave him an armorial bearing, alluding to the agricultural weapons they had used in this brave achievement.

This signal victory over the Danes at Luncarty, procured a repose for Scotland, while those insatiable invaders were over-running England, and even rendering it tributary.

It is impossible now to ascertain the measures pursued by Kenneth, for altering the course of the succession, and diverting it into his own family; but it is certain that they occasioned great and general dissatisfaction through the kingdom. Tumults and insurrections happened in various parts of the country, particularly in Ross-shire; and dangerous conspiracies were formed against the king's life. Kenneth suppressed and punished the insurgents, though he could not, with all his vigour, prevent their secret machinations; and he was, at last, traiterously assassinated, by means of Fanella, who had invited him to her house, in the neighbourhood of which he had been hunting^e.

*Death of
Kenneth.*

Notwithstanding the measures which Kenneth had taken, for securing the succession in his own family, it appears

^d Fordun.^e Ibid. Buchanan.

that immediately after his death, Constantine the Bald ascended the throne. Malcolm, who was then absent, hearing of Constantine's usurpation, raised an army, and invaded Scotland; but finding his competitor at the head of one more powerful, he was obliged to retire to Cumberland. On this occasion, Malcolm was well served by his natural brother Kenneth, who, at the head of a body of troops, took possession of the strong pass at Stirling, and prevented Constantine from pursuing him. Both armies lay, without either venturing to attack the other, till many of Constantine's soldiers perished for want of provisions, and he was at last under the necessity of disbanding his troops.

*Constantine
the Bald.*

Meanwhile the miseries which England suffered under the Danes, who were ravaging Northumberland, had obliged Malcolm again to take the field; and Constantine, having raised another army, embraced that opportunity to invade Lothian, which Malcolm, doubtless, at this time, held under the crown of England, though by what tenure is uncertain. Constantine was opposed in his enterprize by Kenneth the Bastard, who encountered him at Cramond, where, though inferior in number, he made such a disposition of his troops, that he defeated Constantine's army; but happening to engage him in close combat, both the commanders were killed.

The remains of Constantine's army which escaped from the battle, joined Grime, the grandson of king Duff, and heir to Constantine, who had reigned a year and a half.

Grime, upon his coming to the throne, which he ascended in the year 996, affected great moderation, distributing his favours equally to all parties, even to the known friends of Malcolm. This prince, finding Grime's interest far superior to his own, employed emissaries, who secretly tampered with many of the king's adherents; which Grime perceiving, he had again recourse to arms. Malcolm likewise raised troops, under pretence that Grime had imprisoned his servants; but his party was so disunited and intimidated, that his preparations proved ineffectual; and he once more left Grime in the possession of the field and the throne. Malcolm, however, soon afterwards prepared for a fresh invasion, when, to prevent the effusion of blood, a bishop, named Fochad, offered his mediation between the two parties; and this offer being accepted, conditions were agreed upon, respecting a partition of the kingdom, and the eventual succession to the whole.

Grime.

This

This expedient, however, served only as a temporary suspension of the contest. Malcolm, conscious of his own popularity, by the advice of several of his adherents, sent frequent messages to Grime, desiring him to take his choice, either to abdicate the crown of Scotland, which he and his predecessors had usurped, or to assert it by force of arms; and if he preferred the latter alternative, either to fight for the crown in a pitched battle, or to dispute it at single combat. Grime, at last, full of indignation, and thinking it impossible to withstand his power, put himself at the head of such of his adherents as he accounted the most faithful, and took the field. Being opposed by Malcolm with a small, but choice body, both parties met at Achenebard, where a bloody battle ensued. Grime displayed great courage and resolution, but was mortally wounded; and being carried out of the field by his followers, died the same night. His troops immediately dispersed, and Malcolm was left undisputed heir to the crown. He did not, however, immediately assume the royal title; but calling together the nobility, humbly requested them, that, if it could be done consistently with law, they would give him the crown. They, in consequence of the law passed in his father's reign, and acknowledged by themselves as valid, immediately recognized his succession, and invested him with the royal dignity^f.

Malcolm, when advanced in years had no issue to succeed him, except a grandson by his daughter Beatrix, who had married a great nobleman, supposed to be the chief thane of the Isles. The name of this grandson was Duncan, and Malcolm naturally conferred upon him the principality of Cumberland. Whether Duncan performed homage to Etheldred, then king of England, for this principality, does not appear; though it is certain that Malcolm himself was punctual in performing all his engagements with that crown. This seems to have exasperated Swen, the Dane, who aspired to Etheldred's throne; for the Danes renewed their invasions into Cumberland, and made likewise several descents on the coast of Scotland, but always with loss. According to Fordun, Malcolm defeated them three different times; and by the constant success of his arms, he acquired the title, afterwards generally given him, of the most victorious king.

Malcolm's fidelity to the English proved such an obstacle to Swen's ambition, that the latter resolved to attack him

^f Chron. Pais.

in the very vitals of his dominions. Suspending, therefore, his operations in England, he, with a large fleet, composed of Danish and Norwegian ships, landed a considerable body of troops on the coast of Scotland. But, before they had proceeded far, they were surpris'd by Malcolm, who, with the loss of only thirty of his own men, cut all of them in pieces, except a few that escap'd to their ships.

The Danes being thus driven from Scotland, soon after invaded Cumberland, where Malcolm joining his grandson, they were also defeated in that quarter. But the incredible populousness of the northern kingdoms, in those times, supplying Swen with resources both of men and shipping, he gave orders to two of his general officers, Ocan the Norwegian, and Eneth the Dane, to make a descent with a powerful fleet and army, at the mouth of the Spey. The spot where they landed was the inlet to the county of Murray, the best province of Scotland, and whence they could penetrate into the Highlands. Malcolm had not foreseen this formidable invasion, but collected in haste a small force, to prevent the ravages of the barbarians, who had taken several forts in the neighbourhood, and laid siege to the castle of Nairn, then a place of considerable strength. Malcolm, notwithstanding the disproportion of his numbers to those of the Danes, advanced to give them battle; and made a speech to animate his troops, who were already highly exasperated by the scenes of devastation which had marked the progress of the invaders. So great was the impatience of the Scots for revenge, that, neglecting all discipline, and advancing with blind fury, they were cut in pieces by the enemy, and the brave Malcolm himself was carried out of the field, desperately wounded in the head^a.

The Danes were so much encouraged by this victory, that they began to entertain hope of making a total conquest of Scotland, and they even sent over for their wives and children. The castle of Nairn fell into their hands, and the garrison was put to the sword, contrary to the capitulation. Upon the reduction of this garrison, which had been thought impregnable, and was well provided for a long defence, the garrisons and inhabitants of Elgin and Forres abandoned both places. The Danes every where treated the inhabitants as a conquered people. They obliged them to cut down the corn for their use; and to render the castle of Nairn (as they imagined), absolutely

^a Buchanan.

impregnable, they cut through the narrow isthmus which joined it to the land.

Meanwhile Malcolm was raising forces in Mar, and the southern counties, where, having at last collected an army, he again advanced against the invaders, and came up with them at Murtoch, near the castle of Balveny. Here he attacked them, but with such ill success, that he lost three of his general officers, Kenneth, thane of the Isles; Grime, thane of Strathern; and Dunbar, thane of Lothian. Discouraged by this loss, the Scottish army retreated; but Malcolm took possession of a defile, where he checked the pursuit of the barbarians, and the Danish general was killed. This incident, while it damped the ardour of the Danes, infused fresh spirits into the Scots; and Malcolm, once more charging the enemy, obtained a complete victory. Olan, the other Danish general, was obliged to retire, with the remains of his army, to Murray, where he took up his winter-quarters.

The news of this defeat, however, was so far from discouraging Swen, that he gave orders for making a fresh descent with two fleets, one from England and the other from Norway, under the command of Camus, one of his most renowned generals. His army was composed of veterans, and the descent was to be made at the mouth of the Forth. All the places in that quarter were so well fortified, that he found a landing impracticable; but he effected it at Redhead, in the county of Angus. Marching immediately to Brechin, he laid siege to the castle, which not being able to reduce, he entirely demolished the town and church. He thence advanced to the village of Panbride, and encamped at a place called Karboddo. Malcolm being now at hand with his army, both sides prepared for a decisive battle. Camus was at the head of the troops which had conquered England; but those under Malcolm were fighting for all that could be dear to a brave people. The engagement which ensued was the most desperate and bloody that had ever been fought between the two nations. At last victory declared in favour of the Scots, and the Danes were put to flight. A young prince, named Keith, who commanded the Catti (a German clan which had been some time settled in the province of Caithness), served that day as a feudary in Malcolm's army, and bore a great share in the battle. Pursuing the Danes in their flight, he overtook Camus, and killed him with his own hand. Another Scottish officer coming up, disputed with Keith the glory of this action,

action, and, during the contest, Malcolm arrived in person. The dispute was such, that it could be decided only by single combat, in which Keith proving victorious, his antagonist confessed the truth; and Malcolm, dipping his fingers in the wounds of the expiring person, marked the shield of Keith with three bloody strokes. He at the same time pronounced the words, *Veritas vincit*, or Truth overcomes, which has ever since remained the armorial bearing and motto of the descendants of that hero.

The shattered remains of the Danish army reached their ships; but meeting with cross winds, and being destitute of provisions, they put five hundred men on shore on the coast of Buchan, to range the country for supply. Being discovered by Mernan, the thane of that district, he cut off their communication with their ships, and obliged them to retire to a hill, where they fortified themselves in the best manner they could with large stones. The Scots several times attempted in vain to dislodge them; but being reinforced, they mounted the hill with so much resolution, that they broke into the Danish entrenchment, and put every man of them to the sword ^b.

Swen, in spite of these repeated defeats, persevered in the resolution of attempting the conquest of Scotland. With this view he sent his son Canute, afterwards king of England, with an army more powerful than any of the former, and instructions to land on the coast of Murray. Canute, however, either by accident or design, landed at Buchan, where there is some reason to think that their countrymen still maintained a footing. The Scots having been considerably weakened by those repeated invasions, Malcolm resolved to act upon the defensive, by harassing his enemies, and cutting off their convoys; but this cautious method not suiting the ardor of his troops, they called aloud for a general engagement. Malcolm complied with their request, and there ensued a bloody battle, which was soon followed by a peace. The terms concluded between him and Canute were, that the Danes should depart from Murray and Buchan; that as long as Malcolm and Swen lived, neither of them should wage war with the other, or give assistance to their respective enemies; and that the field in which the battle was fought should be set apart, and consecrated for the burial of the dead. The stipulations were punctually observed by Malcolm, who built in

^b Buchanan.

the neighbourhood a chapel, dedicated to Olaus, the tutelary saint of those northern nations.

It was not long before Malcolm was again involved in difficulties on account of the principality of Cumberland. Canute, after his accession to the English throne, required Duncan to pay him homage; and for that purpose sent him repeated summonses, which Duncan as often refused to obey, on pretence that his homage was due not to the Danish, but the Saxon kings of England. Canute having then taken a religious turn, was preparing to pay a visit to Rome, and had not leisure to enforce his requisition. Upon his return, in the year 1032, he renewed his demand, which still not being complied with, he sent an army into Cumberland; but, according to Fordun, he headed it in person. Malcolm marched to the support of his grandson with an army of Scots; and when both sides were preparing for battle, some prelates, and other persons of eminence, interposed, and, upon Malcolm's agreeing that Duncan, and all his successors in the principality of Cumberland, should pay homage to the kings of England, a peace was concluded^c.

This seems to have been the last military expedition of Malcolm. The remaining part of his life was employed in civil institutions; by which, though he benefited his country, he was not able to secure himself from the secret violence of the factions which had been left by the two preceding kings. Notwithstanding he had heaped upon them the greatest obligations, they took the opportunity of way-laying him on his journey to Glamis, and murdered him, after a brave resistance.

*Death of
Malcolm.
Duncan.*

Duncan, the grandson of Malcolm, mounted the throne in the year 1034. The first years of his reign passed in tranquillity; but it was soon overcast by domestic broils. Banquo, thane of Lochaber, and ancestor to the royal house of Stuart, acted then in the capacity of steward to Duncan; but being a severe justiciary, and making his collections rigorously, the inhabitants of the country way-laid, robbed, and almost murdered him. Recovering of his wounds he came to court, where, entering a complaint against the robbers, they were summoned to surrender themselves to justice; but, instead of obeying, they killed the messenger. Macbeth was therefore sent with an army to reduce the insurgents, who had,

^c Buchanan.

by this time, destroyed all the king's friends in their neighbourhood. Macbeth performed his commission with great valour and success; encountered and defeated the rebels; forced their leader to put an end to his own life, and sent his head to the king.

This insurrection was scarcely quelled when the Danes again landed in Fife; and Duncan put himself at the head of an army, the thanes Macbeth and Banquo serving under him. The Danes were commanded by Swen, who is said to have been the eldest son of Canute, and, during his father's life-time, was king of Norway. He proceeded with all the barbarity common to his nation, putting to the sword men, women, and children, of all ages and stations. Near Culrofs the two parties soon came to an engagement, in which the Scots were defeated; but the Danes purchased their victory so dearly that they could not improve it. Duncan retreated to Perth, while Macbeth was sent to raise a new army. Swen laid siege to Perth, which was defended by Banquo, under Duncan. It is probable that both sides were, at this time, under great distress; the besiegers for want of provisions, all the country round them being laid waste; and the besieged for want of skill to defend the town, because Banquo advised Duncan to treat with Swen concerning a capitulation. Swen at first refused to admit of any; but at last agreed to treat, provided the pressing necessities of his army were relieved. It is said, that this treaty was entered into on the part of Duncan to amuse Swen, and to gain time for the stratagem he was preparing. This was no other than an infamous contrivance for infusing herbs of noxious and intoxicating qualities into the liquors, which were sent with the other provisions to the camp of Swen. Those soporifics had the intended effect; and while the Danes were under their influence, Macbeth and Banquo, being then joined, broke into the Danish camp, where they put all to the sword, and it was with difficulty that some of Swen's attendants carried him on board a ship; which is also said to have been the only one of the fleet that returned to Norway.

It was not long before a fresh body of Danes landed at Kinghorn, in the county of Fife. They were encountered by the Scottish army under Macbeth and Banquo, who gained a complete victory, and such of the Danes as escaped the sword, fled to their ships. This was the last attempt made on Scotland by those barbarous invaders^d.

^d Fordun.

After the expulsion of the Danes, Duncan had leisure to indulge his zeal for justice, and the reformation of his kingdom, which he perambulated once a year; relieving the oppressed, punishing the guilty, reconciling differences and quarrels of all kinds; alleviating public misfortunes, and mitigating the rigour of tax-gatherers. These extraordinary virtues, however, ensured not the safety of this prince from the conspirators that meditated his ruin. Their proceedings were not so secret but that the king's friends had some intelligence of them, and endeavoured to put him on his guard. But Duncan, conscious of no offence, and unwilling to harbour a suspicion of his subjects, discouraged the report. This generous confidence served only to forward the design of the conspirators, and he was murdered at Inverness by Macbeth, whose mind had long been occupied with ambitious projects.

*Duncan
murdered.*

Macbeth.

Historians have generally considered Macbeth as the nephew of Duncan, by a sister, named Doada, who was married to the thane of Glamis. Fordun, however, expressly says, that his mother's name was Fenella; and it is probable that he was descended of the same Fenella who had been accessory to the murder of Kenneth III. Considering, likewise, that the same historian speaks of the enemies of Duncan under the appellation of old conspirators, there is reason to suspect that Macbeth had some family pretensions to the crown, founded upon the ancient constitution.

After the murder of Duncan, his sons, Malcolm and Donald, fled from the violence of the usurper; the former to Cumberland, and the latter to the Isles. It cannot be doubted that the young princes left behind them a strong party, which gave great uneasiness to Macbeth, whose troubles were increased by the intelligence he received of the kind reception which Malcolm met with from the earl of Northumberland, his kinsman. This nobleman not only entered into the prince's interest, but introduced him to Edward the Confessor, then king of England, who having been an exile himself, was naturally disposed to pity Malcolm's misfortunes, and accordingly promised him his assistance.

Meanwhile Macbeth was crowned at Scone, and recognized as king of Scotland. He is generally allowed to have displayed great talents for government. His justice was exemplary: he signalized himself in punishing thieves of all denominations: he marched in person to the remotest haunts of his lawless subjects, whom he reduced

to order : he subdued and put to death Mac Gill, the most powerful man in Galloway ; a country which seems, at that time, to have been governed by its own princes, though it is probable they were homagers to the crown of Scotland. Macbeth was distinguished for intrigue as well as for activity. He endeavoured to gain the ecclesiastics to his party ; and, by pecuniary donations, actually brought the court of Rome over to his interests. But neither his abilities nor artifices could procure him tranquillity. The consciousness of guilt kept alive in his breast a jealousy, which was perpetually stimulating him to farther acts of violence. Becoming suspicious of Banquo, the most powerful subject in his dominions, he invited him to an entertainment, and treacherously ordered him to be murdered in his return. Banquo's son, Fleance, was destined to the same fate, but escaped into Wales.

The most powerful nobleman in Scotland was now Macduff, whose influence was sufficient to render him suspected to the usurper. Macduff, however, was so cautious, that no legal hold could be laid on his actions ; and this circumspection put the tyrant so much off his guard, that he dropt some expressions, even in Macduff's hearing, which convinced the latter that his destruction was intended : he therefore fled into England. Macbeth was not satisfied with sequestering his estate, but entered his castle, and basely put to death his wife, and children, who were yet infants ^c.

Malcolm, during this time, lived in his principality of Cumberland, without any thoughts of remounting his father's throne ; and it would seem that Macduff was the first that inspired him with the idea of invading Scotland to assert his hereditary right. When Macduff accosted him, Malcolm behaved for some time with great reserve ; but was soon convinced of the sincerity and faithful attachment of that nobleman. Having concerted measures together, they applied to the court of England, and to Syward, earl of Northumberland and Malcolm's father-in-law, for assistance. Edward readily agreed to Syward's raising ten thousand men in England ; and Macduff went to Scotland to apprize Malcolm's friends of his intention. He was soon followed by the prince with his English auxiliaries. Macbeth fought the vanguard of Syward's army, and killed that nobleman's son with his own hand ; but upon Malcolm's advancing with the main body, now increased

^c Fordun.

with Macduff and his adherents, the usurper took refuge in the most inaccessible places of the Highlands, where, after defending himself two years, he was killed, in a sally, by Macduff.

Malcolm
III.

Meanwhile Malcolm was crowned at Scone, and recognized king of Scotland. Among the first exercises of his government was the debt of gratitude which he paid to Macduff, who had been the chief instrument of his restoration. He granted him and his posterity four privileges; which were, that they should place the king in his chair of state at the time of his coronation; that they should lead the van of all the royal armies; that they should have a free regality within their own estate; and that, if any of Macduff's family should be guilty of unpremeditatedly killing a nobleman, he should pay twenty-four, if a plebeian, twelve marks of silver. The next care of Malcolm was to reinstate in their father's possessions all the children who had been disinherited by the late tyrant; and this he did in a convention of his nobles at Forfar^f.

In this reign the title of thane, a word that carried with it an idea incompatible with hereditary succession, was changed into that of earl, which had for some time prevailed in England; and Macduff, from being thane was created earl of Fife. Other dignities are said to have been instituted about the same time; and the use of patronimical designations, by which every man was named after his father, with the addition of Mac, signifying *son*, prefixed to his surname, began to be laid aside, and surnames, from the lands of the proprietors, were now introduced. Those institutions could not have taken place with a people so attached to ancient usages as the Scots, had not Malcolm possessed political abilities as well as royal authority.

The revolution which happened about this time in England, proved the means of involving Malcolm in a war with that kingdom. Edgar Atheling, though of a mild and unassuming disposition, was persuaded by his friends to leave a court, where he held his life precariously under the eye of a jealous tyrant, who had usurped the hereditary rights of his family. Having, therefore, resolved to fly to Hungary, or some foreign country, he, attended by his mother Agatha, his two sisters, and a great train of Anglo-Saxon noblemen, embarked on board a small

^f Fordun.

squadron. By stress of weather they were forced into the frith of Forth, where they landed at a place since called the Queen's Ferry. Malcolm was no sooner informed of this event, than he paid the illustrious exiles a visit in person, and fell in love with the princess Margaret, whom he afterwards married.

It was not long before William the Conqueror demanded that Edgar should be given up to him ; but Malcolm refusing to comply, war was immediately declared between the two nations. Though the power of Malcolm was inconsiderable, compared to that of William, yet his English auxiliaries assisted him so effectually, that the Norman found great difficulty even to keep his own countrymen in their duty. He was obliged to give up the county of Northumberland to Gospatric, upon condition of his making war against the Scots. Gospatric accordingly invaded Cumberland ; but Malcolm retaliated, by ravaging Northumberland and the neighbouring counties. This, however, was not the only method by which Malcolm sought to distress William ; for he sent ambassadors to Denmark and Ireland, inviting their princes to join him in a confederacy against that conqueror.

But as the Danes, even at this time, kept up their claim to the crown of England, they could not be supposed to be very zealous in asserting the rights of Edgar. The Irish had received under their protection the three sons of the late Harold, king of England, and it was natural for those princes to plead some pretensions to their father's crown. Though all parties, therefore, were equally disposed to molest the English monarch, yet, among such different interests, no general confederacy could be formed, and Malcolm's plan proved abortive.

The three sons of Harold, however, made a descent upon Somersetshire with a body of Irish troops, to which William opposed one of English. The latter were defeated ; but the Irish, who had been prompted to the invasion, more from the thirst of plunder than of conquest, returned to their ships with the booty, which they had acquired by ravaging the country. The Danes, in two hundred and forty small ships, landed at the mouth of the Humber, and were joined by Edgar and his party. This descent threatened destruction to the Norman government in England. William had taken the earldom of Northumberland from Gospatric, and given it to Robert Cummin, one of his Norman barons. The Northumbrians, however, had joined Gospatric, and received the

Danes as their countrymen, while Malcolm lay in the neighbourhood with an army ready to support them. Before a junction could be formed, the Northumbrians had entered into a conspiracy to murder all the Normans who fell into their hands; and this resolution he accordingly executed upon Cummin and his followers at Durham, where they had been guilty of great cruelties. They next attacked some forts which William had built in the North; but not being able to take them, in the middle of December, the English, Scots, and Danes united their forces, and marching to the city of York, which they took, put to the sword three thousand Normans who were there in garrison.

It soon appeared that the Danes and Northumbrians, who considered themselves almost as one people, were no more in earnest than the Irish, to assist Edgar; for they were no sooner masters of the booty, than the former retired to their habitations, and the latter to their ships. Upon this occasion, however, William found it necessary to court the English, by restoring the Saxon laws, and mitigating the severity of the Norman government. This prudent measure served much to re-establish his authority; and he saw himself again at the head of an army, with which he set out for the North. The Danes being now detached from the confederacy, by a sum of money which they had received from the English king, Malcolm withdrew to his own dominions, where he lay on the defensive. Upon his retreat, William took possession of Durham, wintered at York, and received the submissions of Waltheof and Gospatric; creating the former earl of Northampton and Huntingdon, and giving him his own niece in marriage^a.

Next year Malcolm again invaded England, where he is said to have committed great depredations. It is certain that he was victorious, and carried back his army to Scotland in triumph. It does not clearly appear, whether Malcolm had been married to the princess Margaret, Edgar's sister, before his return from this expedition into England. Some historians intimate that the marriage took place immediately upon Edgar's arrival in Scotland; others fix it to the year 1070; and the English writers a year later: but all agree that it was celebrated at Dumfermling, where Malcolm had a palace.

^a Chron. Mel.

Malcolm's irruptions into England were soon after retaliated by William, who invaded Scotland with a powerful army. In Lothian, both princes, for some days, faced each other; but neither inclined to fight, if they could avoid it with honour. After long deliberation, a peace was agreed upon; Malcolm consenting to pay homage to William. The Scottish historians agree with the English as to those facts; but contend that the homage Malcolm then paid, was only for his English possessions; and indeed, it cannot reasonably be supposed to have been for any other. Both parties admit, that William received it at Abernethy, which was formerly the capital of the Pictish kingdom. It is likewise admitted, that, upon the conclusion of the peace, a cross was erected at Stanmore, in Richmondshire, with the arms of both kings, to serve as a boundary between Malcolm's feudal possessions in England, and those of William. Part of this monument, called Re-cross, or Roy-cross, i. e. *The Cross of the Kings*, was entire in the days of Camden.

The establishment of peace between Malcolm and William, introduced among the Scots a total alteration of manners. Several causes contributed to this change; but the chief of these was the excellent disposition of Malcolm's queen, the pattern not only of piety, but politeness, for that age. During Malcolm's absence in England, that amiable princess chose Turgot for her assistant in her intended reformation of the kingdom. She began with her own court, which she new-modelled, by dismissing from her service all who were noted for immorality. Attentive likewise to elegance, she introduced into her household the offices, furniture, and modes of life, that were usual among the more polite nations of Europe. She charged Turgot, upon pain of her displeasure, to give her his real sentiments concerning the state of the kingdom, after the fullest enquiry he could make. Turgot's report was far from being favourable to the Scots. He informed Margaret that faction prevailed among the nobles; rapine among the commons; and incontinence among all degrees of men. Above all, he complained that the kingdom was destitute of a learned clergy, capable of reforming the people by their example and doctrine. The queen, affected by so melancholy a representation of the state of the kingdom, used every argument to convince her husband how necessary it was for his glory and safety, to second her efforts for reforming his subjects. Accordingly Malcolm, though by habit a barbarian, was induced, by the

A.D. 1075.

*Alteration
of manners
in Scot-
land.*

the gentle manners, the soft persuasion, and the earnest intreaties of the queen, to begin the reformation of abuses; and he set in his own person an example, which he obliged his nobility to follow^b.

These innovations, however salutary and honourable to the nation, were neither acceptable to a people accustomed to rapine, nor to an aristocracy which, by the feudal laws, were indulged in the oppression of their inferiors. They considered every restriction on their power as so many steps towards slavery; and the introduction of foreign offices and titles confirmed them in this opinion. An insurrection, therefore, soon broke out in Ross, Murray, and Marr. It was headed by Mac Duncan, and seemed of so alarming a nature, that Malcolm thought proper to march in person against the rebels. Being advanced as far as Monimusk, he received intelligence that they were drawn up on the farther banks of the Spey, and consisted of all the clans in the North and West. Malcolm, upon this, vowed, after the manner of those times, to grant the lands of Monimusk to the church of St. Andrew's, if he should return victorious from his expedition. When he arrived on the banks of the Spey, he saw the rebels make a more formidable appearance than he expected; but, without hesitation, he ordered his troops to advance, and pass the river, though the most impetuous of any in Scotland. His standard-bearer seeming to make a halt, Malcolm plucked the banner from his hands, and gave it to a brave knight, sir Walter Carron, who immediately plunged into the stream. The rebels were intimidated by the resolution of the royal army, and employed their clergy, an order of men which they knew Malcolm regarded, to intercede for their pardon. The venerable fathers, accordingly, appearing on the farther bank in a posture of humiliation, Malcolm ordered them to be ferried over, and received their submissions; but refused to grant them an unconditional pardon. He permitted the common people, whom he knew to be the slaves of the chieftains, to return to their respective habitations; but insisted on the better sort surrendering themselves to his pleasure. Mac Duncan and several of the ringleaders were either put to death, or had their lands forfeited; while others were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and the confiscation of their estates^c.

^b Buchanan.^c Ibid.

This insurrection being quelled, Malcolm returned to his schemes of reformation, which he prosecuted with great assiduity. By the best accounts, the practice of saying grace after meals was introduced among the Scots by Margaret, who gave a glass of wine, or other liquor, to every guest that remained at the royal table, and heard the thanksgiving; which innocent expedient gave rise to the term of the Grace-drink. It must, however, be acknowledged, that the reformation of manners was debased by a mixture of superstition. The queen and Turgot proceeded to regulate the duration of Lent, and the time of Easter; while the king administered meat and drink to a certain number of poor persons every day, with his own hands. We are informed by Turgot, that the queen not only did the same, but bestowed large alms of silver among the needy, and washed the faces of six of their number.

Under a court so much given to devotional exercises, a particular attachment must have been shown to the interests of the church. The bishopricks of Murray and Caithness were at this time founded; those of Murlach, Galloway, St. Andrew's, and Glasgow, were endowed with additional lands and revenues; and all the dilapidations which the episcopal estates had suffered during the late wars, were repaired. Parish-churches were built and ornamented by the royal bounty. But above all, Malcolm's favourite residence, the palace of Dumfermling, was embellished in a taste hitherto unknown in the kingdom. Here the queen not only caused a stately church to be built from the foundation, but endowed it with vessels of gold and silver. Among jewels of immense value, she bequeathed to it, in her own life-time, the famous black cross, composed of diamonds, and which had been brought to Scotland by her brother Edgar, as being one of the royal jewels of England. A monastery was likewise founded here by Malcolm, and endowed with great privileges^d.

The peace between William and Malcolm had subsisted but a few years, when the latter again invaded England; an enterprize to which it would seem, he was induced, by William's beheading his kinsman, Waltheof, earl of Northumberland. But of this expedition historians have transmitted no particulars. In 1088, he repeated his incursion into England, on account of Rufus's sequestering into his own hands twelve fine manors, which had been

A.D. 1077.

^d Fordun.

given him by the Conqueror. William soon after raised a great armament, both by sea and land, to invade Scotland; but his fleet was dashed to pieces by storms, and almost all who were on board of it perished. Malcolm, who had foreseen the invasion by land, had so effectually laid waste the counties through which the English army was to pass, that William lost great part of his troops by fatigue and famine; and when he arrived in Scotland, found himself in no condition to prosecute his ambitious schemes, especially as Malcolm was advancing against him with a powerful army. Rufus, in this distress, had recourse to the opening a negociation, by means of Edgar and the other English noblemen who resided with Malcolm. The expedient proved successful, and a peace, dishonourable to William, was again concluded between the two crowns^c.

Malcolm, soon after, repaired to William's court at Gloucester, that he might have a personal interview, and redress all William's complaints. Upon his arrival, he found that he could get no admittance to William's presence, without first performing his homage, and submitting to the judgement of William's barons in full court. Malcolm refused to do either; and William peremptorily insisting upon his compliance, the former left England in a great rage.

Upon his return to Scotland, he raised a new army, and besieged Alnwick. Robert de Mowbray, the governor, or earl of Northumberland, raised some forces to oppose him; but could not prevent the siege from being carried on with great vigour. According to Fordun, and other Scottish historians, the place was reduced to such streights, that a knight came out of the castle, with its keys on the point of his spear; and telling those whom he met, that he was come to lay them at Malcolm's feet, that prince, who was then unarmed, advancing to receive them, was by the traitor run through the eye, and killed upon the spot. They add, that prince Edward, Malcolm's eldest son, was mortally wounded, in endeavouring to revenge his father's death; and Fordun says he died three days after. The English historians, however, contend that Malcolm was surprised in his camp by Mowbray; that he was killed by one Morel de Bebaburh; that his son fell at the same time; and that their army suffered a total rout. Malcolm's body was discovered, and carried

A.D. 1093.

*Malcolm
killed.*

^c Fordun. Buchanan.

in a cart by some country people to Tinmouth-church, where it lay buried, with that of his son, until both of them were removed some years after to the abbey of Dumfermling^f.

Malcolm was killed on the 6th of June, in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, and was an extraordinary prince for that age; though there be reason to suspect that his historians, who were churchmen, have been partial to his memory. He left two daughters and several sons; but by none of these was he succeeded on the throne.

Notwithstanding all that had lately been done, to render the succession to the Scottish crown hereditary, yet such was the attachment to the collateral succession, that a strong party in its favour was still lurking in the kingdom. At the head of this was Malcolm's brother Donald, *Donald, surnamed Bane.* surnamed Bane, whose name is not mentioned in the long reign of the late king; but who appears to have retired in discontent to the Highlands and Islands, where, as well as in the Lowlands, his partizans were so numerous, that there does not seem to have been even a struggle for the son of Malcolm, when his uncle Donald mounted the throne. Donald's party was greatly increased by the general dissatisfaction at the measures of the late reign, in introducing the English, and other foreigners, and raising them to great posts and estates. The new king, therefore, upon his accession, expelled from Scotland all foreigners, and obliged them to seek refuge in England, through the intercession of Edgar, who was then at that court. Their removal gave a new, but a dismal face to the affairs of Scotland. Atheling found means to rescue Edgar, the eldest son of the late king, with his two surviving brothers, and to carry them to the court of Rufus, where he was in great reputation. Their party soon began to revive in Scotland; and Donald, in order to support his government, had recourse to the expedient of calling in the Danes and Norwegians, to whom he proposed ceding the Orkney and Shetland Islands, then subject to the kings of Scotland. Accordingly Magnus, at this time king of Norway, after taking possession of those islands, marched a body of troops to the assistance of Donald^g. Those barbarians, as usual, became so insolent, that in a short time they were more hated than the English had ever been by the Scots, who complained that their country was in danger of becoming a province to Norway.

^f Chron. Mel.^g Buchanan.

What sentiments Rufus entertained at this time, respecting the royal family of Scotland, is not known; but there is reason for thinking he did not seriously intend that young Edgar should succeed to the crown. A natural son, named Duncan, of the late Malcolm, had been sent a hostage into England; and having been made a knight by Rufus, he was serving in his armies with great reputation. William formed the design of placing him on the throne of Scotland; as illegitimacy could be no obstacle in the eyes of a prince who was himself the son of a bastard.

The Scots became every day more discontented with Donald's Norwegian auxiliaries, whom, however, he found necessary for maintaining himself on the throne. This being an alarming circumstance to William, he put Duncan at the head of a body of troops, with which he entered Scotland. On this occasion, the Scots in general abandoned Donald, who was obliged again to retire to the Isles, with the view, probably, of receiving fresh succours from Norway. The Scots, upon the flight of Donald, imagined that Duncan was about to raise Edgar to the throne of his father; but instead of that, he repaired to Scone, where he was solemnly crowned.

Scotland was at this time in great confusion. Two usurpers were contending for the crown, and each was supported by an army of foreigners. At last, Malpedir, the thane, or earl, of Mearns, a powerful nobleman, surprised (some say by Donald's advice) Duncan, and killed him, in the castle of Menteith; which was the more easily effected, as the domestic troubles of England had, by this time, forced William to recall his troops out of Scotland. Upon the death of Duncan, Malpedir was so much of a patriot, that, rather than owe the restoration of Edgar to English troops, he replaced Donald on the throne: nor does it appear that the Norwegians assisted Donald in regaining the crown. A visit which the king of Norway, about this time, paid to his new acquisitions in the Western and Northern Isles, created fresh alarms in the court of England; and the Scots in general showed a strong inclination for calling in young Edgar. Donald, to prevent such a measure, offered Edgar all that part of Scotland which lay south of the Forth. The terms, however, were not only rejected, but the messengers who brought them were punished as traitors; by which we may suppose that Edgar was then in the South of Scotland, or in that part of England which he considered as his own

own dominions. His uncle Edgar Atheling was still alive; and Rufus, rather than see the Norwegians again obtain a footing in Scotland, gave Atheling the command of a body of troops to restore his nephew. The Scots, now entirely alienated from the government of Donald, abandoned him at the appearance of the English troops. These were headed by Robert, son of Godwin, who had so bravely defended Atheling; and, though consisting only of two thousand men, they, after obtaining a bloodless victory, forced the usurper to an inglorious flight. He was pursued so closely, that he was taken and brought before young Edgar, who ordered his eyes to be put out, and condemned him to perpetual imprisonment, in which he died ^a.

The peace between England and Scotland was soon *Edgar.* after cemented by a matrimonial alliance. Christina, sister to Edgar Atheling, had by this time professed herself a nun in the monastery of Wilton, into which she carried her niece, young Matilda, sister to Edgar, now king of Scotland. As it was highly improbable that Edgar Atheling could have any issue, and as his nephew had no design of putting in any claim to the English crown, as the male representative of the Anglo-Saxon royal blood, Henry, who had become king of England at the death of his brother William, thought that his marriage with young Matilda, a beautiful and accomplished princess, would strengthen his title to the crown. This union was opposed by some zealots, under pretence of Matilda's having been a professed nun; but after a solemn enquiry before a synod, which was summoned for the purpose, a sentence was passed in favour of the marriage, which accordingly, to the satisfaction of both nations, was celebrated with great pomp. Edgar, after a peaceable reign of nine years and three months, died at Dundee, in 1107, and was buried at Dumfermling ¹.

Edgar was succeeded on the throne by his brother *A.D. 1107.* Alexander, surnamed from his impetuosity the Fierce. It appears, that upon his accession, his subjects were *Alexander the Fierce.* so ignorant of his true character, on account of his piety and devotion, that the northern parts of the kingdom were soon filled with tumult and disorder, the inseparable concomitants of the feudal institutions. Alexander instantly raised an army, and marching into Murray and Ross-shire, attacked the insurgents separately;

^a Buchanan. Fordun.¹ Idem.

whom having entirely subdued, he ordered numbers of the most powerful among them to be executed. Upon his return from this expedition, in passing through the Merns, he was accosted by a widow, who complained that her husband and son had been put to death by the young earl their superior. The king immediately alighted from his horse, and swore he would not remount him until enquiry should be made into the justice of the complaint; and finding it to be true, the offender was hanged in his presence.

Though the vigour of Alexander's administration prevented any farther attempts towards an open rebellion, many private conspiracies were formed among the more abandoned of his subjects, who had been accustomed to live under a remiss government. Accordingly, a fresh conspiracy broke out against Alexander, while he was engaged in building the castle of Baledgar, so called in compliment to his brother Edgar, who had laid the foundation-stone. This castle lay in the Carse of Gowry, and the situation of it was particularly convenient for the suppression of the robberies which were frequent in the neighbourhood. The conspirators, by bribing one of the king's domestics, were introduced into the royal bed-chamber in the night. Alexander, alarmed at the noise, drew his sword, dispatched six of them, and, by the help of Alexander Carron, escaped the danger, by flying to Fife. The conspirators chiefly resided in the Merns, to which Alexander once more marched with an army. They having retired across the Spey, Alexander pursued them to the banks of that river; and if the Scottish historians have not confounded this expedition with one of the same nature already related, he would have plunged into the river to pass it, had he not been restrained by Carron, who bravely attacked the rebels, defeated them, and brought all who fell into his hands to public justice. Carron, from his valour in this battle, was called *Skrimgeour*, or *Skrimzeour*, which signifies *Skirmisher*, or *Fighter*.

Alexander, after reducing his kingdom to some order, paid a visit to his brother-law, Henry I. king of England, to whom he was of great service in terminating a difference which had broke out between that monarch and the Welch. The remainder of Alexander's reign was spent in civil and ecclesiastical regulations. After filling the throne seventeen years, he died a bachelor, and was buried at Dumfermling in 1124.

Alexander

Alexander was succeeded by his younger brother, David, who having received his education in England, married Maud, the daughter of Waltheof, by Judith, niece to William the Conqueror. David became afterwards possessed of the great earldoms of Huntingdon and Northumberland; so that he was, at the time of his accession to the crown of Scotland, the most powerful subject in England. He cultivated his family-connexion with Henry; and having early foreseen the opposition which his niece, the empress Maud (who, by the death of her elder brother, was then heiress to the crown of England) would encounter, he took an oath to maintain her and her issue in that succession. This he did from a motive of principle; for Stephen, who was her antagonist, was David's kinsman by his younger sister, Mary, wife to Eustace, earl of Boulogne. Upon the death of Henry, Stephen seized the crown of England, with the royal treasures; and his progress was so rapid, that the party of the empress was overborne, and numbers of her friends took refuge in Scotland. David not only gave them a hospitable reception, but raised an army, with which he marched into England, seized upon Carlisle and Newcastle, and obliged the nobility of the North of England to give hostages for their fidelity to the empress and her young son, afterwards Henry II. Stephen, having advanced as far as Durham, was apprehensive of the fate of a battle, and sent to know the demands of David. These were, that he should receive the investiture of the earldom of Huntingdon; that he should keep Carlisle and Doncaster; and that his son Henry, in right of his mother, should be put in possession of the earldom of Northumberland. Stephen agreed to all these demands except the last, which he referred to the decision of his great council, because of the opposition made to it by some of his subjects. A great difficulty, however, still subsisted, how David should get over his oath in favour of Maud's succession; but this was removed, by his giving the investiture of all his English estates to his son Henry, who accordingly performed homage to Stephen.

Though the urgency of Stephen's affairs induced him to an acquiescence with the articles of this treaty, he endeavoured, through the whole of his reign, to evade the accomplishment of them; and, by this conduct, the king of Scotland was provoked to make two irruptions into the English dominions. The various transactions which thence ensued, exhibit the character of David in a favourable

A.D. 1153.

May 24.
David's
death.

favourable light, both as a warrior and politician. This great prince, finding his end approaching, prepared to meet it with the most exemplary acts of devotion, and ordered himself to be carried to church, where he received the sacrament; refusing to suffer it to be brought to him. Upon his return he expired, with a wish to enter the kingdom where all the inhabitants were kings. He died at Carlisle, after a glorious reign of twenty-nine years, and was buried at Dumfermling with great splendour.

David was succeeded by his grand-son, Malcolm IV. eldest son of prince Henry, who died before his father. This prince was only fifteen years of age when he ascended the throne, and from his continence, obtained the surname of the Maiden. At the time of his accession, Scotland was desolated by a famine; and Sommerled, the ambitious thane of Argyle, preferred a claim to the crown itself, at the head of a considerable army, which daily increased by the resort of all the needy and the profligate to his standard. An insurrection was raised at the same time by another chieftain, called Donald, the son of Macbeth; but he was defeated, and shut up in the same prison with his father; though both of them were soon afterwards received into favour. Gilchrist, earl of Angus, was then at the head of young Malcolm's troops; and, having defeated Sommerled in three battles, he forced him to fly to Ireland.

But a more powerful enemy now arose to disturb the government of Malcolm. This was Henry II. of England, whose succession to the throne had been chiefly owing to the efforts of Malcolm's grandfather. Henry, by his marriage, was the most powerful prince in Europe, and at the same time the ablest and most ambitious. He affected to consider all the grants made by his mother, in prejudice of his crown, as proceeding from force, and therefore not binding. He also regarded those made by Stephen as so many acts of usurpation, and he had formed a resolution to resume them all. He affirmed that David was not in the possession of Northumberland at the time of Henry the First's death, and that Stephen having usurped the government, no concession made by him was valid. As those grants, however, had been ratified by the empress, in whose right the present king of England inherited his crown, the demand was arbitrary, and Malcolm was so compliant as to grant him a
meeting

at Chester. Buchanan and other Scottish historians affirm, that when Henry received the order of knighthood, he solemnly swore not to disturb David, or any of his posterity, in possession of the territories which they held in England. It is said that Malcolm's counsellors were corrupted by those of Henry^k; which, indeed, would seem to be the truth, because Malcolm was not then in possession of the estates which Henry demanded. For the late king David had not only given Northumberland to William, his second grandson, but had given the earldom of Huntingdon in England, with that of Garioch in Scotland, to his third grandson, David. It is probable that Henry urged his power, as lord paramount, to reject David's investiture, and this seems to have determined Malcolm to resign his family-claim respecting the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland, upon his being put in possession of the earldom of Huntingdon, and doing homage for it, in the same manner as his grand-father had done before to Henry I.

This transaction, it must be acknowledged, affords strong presumption of treachery on the part of the Scottish ministry. Malcolm's great tenants were, perhaps, well pleased to see the power of the crown weakened by their monarch's giving up Cumberland and Northumberland for the precarious revenues of Huntingdon, which lay at a great distance from his frontiers. Their suffering him to repair to Chester was likewise a capital error, as it might have been easily foreseen, that Henry would make his own terms, as soon as he got Malcolm's person in his power. Malcolm, upon his return home, found his subjects in general highly dissatisfied at the concessions he had made: notwithstanding which, in the year 1159, upon an invitation from Henry to an interview at Carlisle, Malcolm gave him the meeting, but would not agree to any of the terms which Henry proposed.

It appears, however, that Malcolm, who was then but young, was so much over-awed by Henry's arms, or so dazzled with the lustre of his court, that he attended him into England, greatly to the dissatisfaction of his principal subjects. Henry demanded his attendance in an expedition he was meditating against Thoulouse, which he claimed in right of his wife. It is uncertain, from historical authority, whether Malcolm, who was endowed with great personal bravery, and wanted to signalize himself,

^k Fordun.

did not privately agree, that Henry should make this demand, to which he consented, on pretence (to save appearances with his subjects) that he had not attendants with him sufficient to dispute the will of his paramount. It is certain, that he accompanied Henry during the unfortunate campaign he had made in Provence, that he behaved with the greatest valour at the siege of Thoulouse, which was relieved by the French king in person; and when Henry returned to Tours, he conferred upon Malcolm the honour of knighthood, which seems to have been the principal inducement for that prince's serving under the banners of England in a foreign country¹.

Malcolm, upon his return to Scotland, found his subjects extremely discontented, not only at the close connexion between him and Henry, but at his serving that monarch against their ancient and natural ally the king of France. To such a height had the spirit of dissatisfaction arisen, that his nobles were in arms under Ferchard, earl of Stathern, and five other earls, some influenced by public, and others by private considerations; and they besieged him in the town of Perth. But the king having previously summoned thither a convention of his states, the hearts of his other subjects turned in his favour, and the attempts of the insurgents were, for that time, baffled. By the intervention of the clergy, a meeting of the states was held, where Malcolm pleaded, that all the concessions of territory he had made to Henry, had been extorted from him by force, and that he had served in the war with France against his inclination. His subjects accepted of the apology, and with the greater readiness, as the kingdom was then threatened with commotions in other quarters.

A.D. 1159.

An insurrection.

The thane of Galloway was then in arms; and the differences between Malcolm and his subjects had even encouraged him to declare himself a candidate for the crown. Gilchrist, or, as some say, the king in person, marched against him with an army; and the thane being defeated, was shaved, and shut up as a monk in the abbey of Holyrood house; his life being spared at the intercession of his powerful friends.

About the same time, the inhabitants of Murray rose in arms under one Gilderminic, and ravaged all the adjacent country. Malcolm was so much exasperated, that, according to Fordun, he came to the resolution of either exterminating the inhabitants of Murray, or transplant-

¹ M. Paris. Buchanan.

ing them into other provinces. He, therefore, after sending Gilchrist to oppose them, marched in person with a strong army; and coming up with the insurgents at the river Spey, put them all to the sword, without distinction.

Sommerled, who had been driven to Ireland by Gilchrist, once more landed in Scotland, with an intention, probably, to revive his claim to the crown. The place in which he made his descent was near Renfrew, where he began to plunder the country. Though supported by a strong armament, he was attacked, and defeated, by a small number of the inhabitants. According to Fordun, he was slain in the action; but later writers say, that he was taken, and carried alive to the king, by whose orders he was hanged.

The vigour of Malcolm's military conduct appears to have secured him tranquillity, during the subsequent part of his reign; towards the close of which he applied himself to the founding and endowing of religious houses. At last, he fell into a deep depression of spirits, and died in the twelfth year of his reign, and the twenty-fifth of his age.

A.D. 1155.

Malcolm's death.

William's

Malcolm was succeeded by his brother William, who, before his accession, had laboured under very disadvantageous circumstances. The only heritage assigned him by his father, consisted of those English estates which his elder brother, had resigned; while his young brother David, continued in the peaceable possession of the great earldom of Huntingdon. This treatment exasperated him so highly, that he refused to enter into any public business, until he had named ambassadors to demand from the king of England the restitution of Northumberland. When his ambassadors made their requisition, Henry, whose affairs were then much embarrassed, gave them a soothing answer; but intimated, that William, previous to any negotiation on the subject, should appear at his court, and pay his homage in person. This answer being laid before the states of Scotland, it was their opinion, that, in order to preclude the miseries of war, William should go to the English court, and, after paying his homage, conclude a final agreement with Henry concerning Northumberland.

A.D. 1166.

Accordingly, in the beginning of the year 1166, he went to Windsor, where he was received by Henry with great pomp. Having performed his homage for Cumberland and Huntingdon, which, though his brother David had the emoluments of the latter, he held in capite of the English crown; he required

William pays homage for his English estates.

quired to be put in possession of Northumberland likewise. This demand Henry would willingly have evaded, because William's friendship was of consequence to his affairs; but at last he was forced to acquaint William, that it was not in his power to alienate Northumberland from his crown, without the consent of the peers assembled in parliament.

*William
goes to
France.*

Henry was then preparing to pass over to France, under pretence of making a crusade to the Holy Land; and the king of Scotland, contrary to the advice of the noblemen who were about his person, resolved to gratify his own inclination, and the desire of Henry, by accompanying the latter in his enterprize. He accordingly went over to Normandy with the English monarch, who thereby secured a pledge for the tranquillity of his northern dominions. It soon appearing that Henry's pretended expedition to the Holy Land was no more than a political expedient to obtain the favour of the pope, in his dispute with Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, William returned to his own dominions. During the short stay he made in Scotland, he was employed in giving orders for strengthening his frontiers towards England, as foreseeing what afterwards happened. He also brought to justice many robbers, who infested his kingdom; and next year paid another visit to the English court. Boece and Buchanan inform us, that Henry had by this time agreed William should possess that part of Northumberland which his great-grandfather held (meaning, probably, Malcolm Canmore); and that William, declaring he would be satisfied with nothing less than the whole, Henry repented himself of his grant. In consequence of this incident, hostilities were renewed between the two kingdoms. In the year 1170, however, matters were so well adjusted between the contending parties, that Henry knighted David, earl of Huntingdon, at Windsor, in presence of his brother the king of Scotland¹.

But this apparent cordiality was of short duration. The greatness and power of Henry II. was now formidable to all the princes of Europe, especially to the kings of Scotland and France. Henry's queen, the restless and implacable Eleanor, having excited her sons to an unnatural war against their father, William resolved to embrace this opportunity of obliging Henry to do him justice. He, therefore, according to the French historians, went over to France, where a general confederacy had been formed

¹ M. Paris. Chron. Dunst. Fordun.

against Henry. It consisted of that monarch's three sons, with several noblemen French and English, and the kings of Scotland and France. Among the demands of the several claimants, which were here settled, it was agreed that William should be put in full possession of all Northumberland, which he was to hold as a fief from the crown of England; and that his brother David, in like manner, should hold the earldom of Huntingdon. William, it is said, even performed homage to young Henry, whom his father had already invested with the name, but not the power, of king of England. Their plan of operations was next formed, and it was agreed, that William should invade England, by the way of Northumberland.

Henry, by his good intelligence and his activity, disconcerted all the schemes of the confederates in France and Normandy, where he conducted his affairs in person, and where his success had disabled the confederates from fulfilling their engagements with William; so that the latter could not take the field so early as he intended. At last, however, he assembled an army, and finding no force to oppose him, he ravaged the banks of the Humber; and, after putting to the sword many of the inhabitants, he returned by the way of Carlisle, to which he laid siege. Richard de Lucy, who was now Henry's lieutenant over all England, with some other noblemen, though too weak to fight William, yet made a powerful diversion to his arms. For they invaded Scotland by the way of Berwick, which they burnt to the ground. They were preparing to proceed northwards, when, receiving intelligence of an insurrection headed by the earl of Leicester, they resolved to suspend their intended expedition. William was still lying before Carlisle, and was preparing to march southward to join Leicester, when he found himself opposed by an English army under Richard de Lucy, while Bohun marched forward, and totally defeated the earl of Leicester, near St. Edmundsbury. The news of this event soon reached William, who listened to a proposal of a truce, which was made by Hugh, bishop of Durham. It was then the month of December, and it was agreed that all hostilities should cease between the two nations until eight days after the ensuing Easter; but that William, in the mean time, should receive three hundred marks in silver; upon which he returned to Scotland^m.

William employed this interval in vigorous preparations for renewing the war; and it was agreed between him

^m Fordun. Buchanan.

A D. 1173.

*William
invades
England.*

and the earl of Flanders, that they should invade England in different quarters, upon the expiration of the truce. At the time appointed, William took the field, and levied upon the inhabitants of Northumberland the three hundred marks which had been paid him during the late truce. He formed his army into three divisions: the first, commanded by one of his generals, laid siege to Carlisle; himself led the second into the heart of Northumberland; and his brother David advanced into Leicestershire with the third division, to make head against Simon de Lys, who laid claim to the earldom of Huntingdon. William, after reducing several places, joined that division of his army which was besieging Carlisle. The place was defended by Robert de Vaux, who agreed to surrender it to William, if it was not relieved before the end of September; upon which William laid siege to Prudhou-castle, belonging to the Umfrevilles.

*He is made
prisoner.*

William, by dividing his forces, had been guilty of a capital error. He had left some troops to continue the blockade of Carlisle; he had sent a reinforcement to his brother David; and he had dispatched two of his generals to levy contributions on the neighbouring country. He thus retained about his own person only a handful, with which he was carrying on the siege of Prudhou, where he received intelligence that the Yorkshiremen, under the command of Robert de Stuterville and his son, were advancing to surprise him. William immediately retired towards Alnwick, which he besieged. Stuterville, and Ralph de Glanville, another English nobleman of Henry's party, had such good intelligence of William's motions, and the careless manner in which he acted, that they formed a scheme to surprise him. They dressed a party of their light horse in the Scottish habits, and pushing on with forced marches, they came in sight of William's camp before Alnwick. The king, who was reconnoitring some ground about the castle, with no more than sixty men in his train, supposing the horse-men to be a part of his own troops, suffered them to approach so near, that he was made prisoner.

David, earl of Huntingdon, who was then in Leicestershire, when he heard of his brother's captivity, instantly returned to Scotland, where he found the whole country in confusion on account of the king's imprisonment. According to Fordun, the Scots revenged themselves severely, by repeated and bloody inroads upon the English; while the latter, in their turn, broke into Scotland, where they gave

gave no quarter to age or sex. The indignation of the Scots had been roused by the ignominious treatment of their captive monarch. He is said to have been first carried prisoner to Richmond-castle, with his feet tied under the horse's belly; and he was afterwards brought in chains before Henry, at Northampton; whence he was transported to the castle of Falaise, in Normandy, where he was shut up with other state-prisoners. An accommodation soon afterwards took place between Henry and his sons; and all the prisoners on both sides were set at liberty, except William, who bore his confinement with great impatience. Henry neglected not to avail himself of William's situation, by pressing him to agree to that point which had so long been disputed by the two nations; his performing homage to the king of England for the crown of Scotland, as well as for his English territories. William was mean enough to accept of the proposed condition; and agreed to a treaty, by which all doubts concerning the kingdom of Scotland being a fief of the English crown was removed^m. But those concessions were only the result of present necessity, and might, therefore, be afterwards retracted, on the plea that they had been extorted by force. Henry had too much sagacity not to be aware of this consequence; and to prevent it, he insisted on William's agreeing to deliver into his hands, as deposits, the principal forts of his kingdom. These were the castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling. David, earl of Huntingdon, with twenty Scottish barons, who were present at the signing of this convention, promised to perform homage to Henry for the future, if required, and were delivered into his hands as hostages for William's good faith; engaging, at the same time, to procure the assent of all their absent nobility to the agreement. The demands of Henry were so exorbitant, that William was obliged to agree to pay out of his own pocket the garrisons of the castles which he had thus so shamefully ceded.

A.D. 1174.

*Convention
at Falaise.*

Nothing but the affection which the Scots bore to their king, could have induced them to submit to so disgraceful a convention; which, notwithstanding its being ratified, they considered as virtually invalid, by the king's being in durance when it was made.

William, being restored to his liberty, returned to Scotland, which he found in the utmost confusion. During

*William is
set at
liberty.*

^m Buchanan.

his captivity, the people of Galloway, at the head of whom were two noblemen or princes, called Othred and Gilbert, revived their claim to an independency upon the Scottish crown. Having expelled out of that country all the Scotch officers, they demolished the forts that had been erected there by William and his predecessors, and put to death all foreigners. The two brothers quarrelling upon this success, Othred was murdered by Gilbert or his order; and Gilbert applied to Henry for protection^a.

A.D. 1175.

That the late convention, made with William, might receive all possible validity, Henry, who had returned to England, summoned the Scottish king to a meeting at York, with him and his son, to whom he was now reconciled. William obeyed the summons, which appears to have been of a very extensive nature; for all the great nobility and great land-holders in Scotland appeared at the same time, confirmed the convention of Falaise, swore fealty to Henry, and put themselves and their country under his protection. Indeed, by the cession of the forts, the nation was then as much in Henry's power as William had been at the convention of Falaise. Henry, having gained this great point, ordered Hoveden, the historian, and Robert de Vaux, the governor of Carlisle, to treat with Gilbert of Galloway, who had offered to put himself and his people under the protection of England, and to pay Henry an annual tribute of two thousand marks of silver, with five hundred cows, and an equal number of hogs. Henry's two commissaries, struck with horror at Othred's murder, refused to make any final agreement with Gilbert. The negotiation was transferred to Henry in person; and he, to gratify his new feudatory, William, declined intermeddling in the affair. Upon this William sent Gilchrist with an army against the Gallovidians, whom he entirely defeated.

The forts in Scotland, which had been delivered up to Henry, were, according to stipulation, to be restored, as soon as the terms of the convention of Falaise should be fulfilled. One of those conditions remained yet to be performed. This was, that the church of Scotland shall hereafter make such submission to the church of England as she ought to make to her, and as she was wont to do in the time of the kings of England, his predecessors. Henry, who knew the importance of this stipulation, ordered an ecclesiastical synod to be held at Northampton, in 1176; at which William appeared, at the head of his

^a Fordun. Chron. Dunc.

clergy, according to Henry's summons. The church of Scotland was not so compliant as her king and laity had been, to a foreign jurisdiction. The clergy took advantage of the ambiguity of the expression, "as he was wont to do," to dispute the archbishop of York's claim; and, happily for them, the archbishop of Canterbury insisted upon their submitting to him as primate. This producing a contest between the two metropolitans, the Scottish clergy retired without submitting themselves to either. William, to soften the disappointment which Henry received by this transaction, referred the matter to the pope, and sent ambassadors to Rome for that purpose. His holiness, always pleased with an occasion to dictate to princes, appointed a cardinal, one Vivian, to repair to Scotland, and to take cognizance of the affair; but he had instructions at the same time to raise as much money in Scotland as he could. William was not ignorant of his commission, and sent him notice of the danger he might incur, if he intended any thing to the prejudice of the crown and kingdom of Scotland; and William even obliged the cardinal to take an oath, that he would attempt nothing of that kind. The legate then was permitted to enter Scotland; and the national council being assembled at Holyrood house, many ancient canons were renewed, and new laws enacted. Soon after these transactions, William had a difference with the bishop of St. Andrew's and Aberdeen, which Henry and the pope endeavoured to compromise, but in vain. This produced an excommunication against William, and an interdiction of his kingdom, but, so far as appears, without any bad consequence to either; an additional proof how little the church of Scotland was then under papal influence.

A.D. 1177.

Scotland being now freed from all apprehensions of danger on the side of England, by Henry's obtaining peaceable possession of the cautionary fortresses, William seems to have lived, for some years, in uninterrupted, but inglorious tranquillity, disturbed only by a domestic insurrection, which was soon effectually suppressed. There is reason to believe, that great part of William's time was spent at the English court; and, in 1186, we find him marrying, at Woodstock, Ermengarda, daughter to the earl of Beaumont, nearly related to Henry. Beside other restitutions to the crown of Scotland, Henry, on this occasion, gave up to William, as part of his wife's fortune, the castle of Edinburgh, which appears to have been hitherto unjustly detained.

A.D. 1186.

*Marriage
of William.*

*Richard re-
leases the
Scots from
their de-
pendency.*

The accession of Richard to the crown of England was a fortunate epoch to the Scots. When this prince mounted the throne, he was engaged in the crusade; and, knowing that the newly acquired superiority over Scotland was very precarious, he formed a plan of ensuring the quiet of his kingdom, during his absence in the crusade, by obtaining the friendship of William. One of the first measures of Richard's government was, his inviting William to give him a meeting at Canterbury. For this purpose he ordered his brother, Geoffré, archbishop elect of York, and all the northern barons, to receive William upon the borders; and the Scottish king arrived at

A.D. 1189. Canterbury about the middle of December, 1189.

According to the English records, Richard then held, of all the cautionary forts, only those of Roxburgh and Berwick; and, from the words of the original proceedings, there is the strongest proof, that William's acts of fealty for the crown of Scotland had been always considered, even in England, as unjustly extorted from him by force. He agreed to pay Richard ten thousand marks of silver, and to renew his homage for all his English possessions, provided Richard released him from the unjust homage which he had been forced to pay for the crown of Scotland. In this convention Richard positively acknowledges, that all the conventions, and pactions of submission from William to the crown of England, had been extorted from him by unprecedented writings and duress. This generosity of Richard met with a suitable return from William. When Richard was imprisoned in an Austrian dungeon, the king of Scotland sent an army to assist his regency against his brother John, who attempted to usurp the throne.

*Gratitude
of William
to Richard.*

A.D. 1194.

Upon the return of Richard to England, he overflowed with gratitude for William's generous friendship, which, indeed, had been of the greatest importance to the preservation of his throne. William was also sufficiently sensible of his own services, for which he neglected not to claim an adequate retribution. He demanded to be put in possession of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancaster, with a confirmation of the rank, and all privileges, which had been formerly due, or granted, to any of his predecessors as kings of Scotland. Richard's circumstances at this time were such, that he could not immediately transfer to William a property

*His high
demands.*

which, in fact, would render him a more powerful prince than himself; but he appointed a meeting at Chepstow, in order to adjust all matters of difference between them. At this meeting, Richard again expressed the most lively gratitude to William; and the latter laid before him his late charter, which, beside other articles, contained a specification of the manner of the Scottish king's entertainment, when he entered England; a matter of great importance under the feudal institution.

This charter, which is dated at Northampton, the 12th of April, 1194, freed the king and people of Scotland from an immense expence. The injustice of the claims set on foot by Henry II, had been fully acknowledged, and formally cancelled, and the most disgraceful part of feudal submission was by this charter revoked; as the king of England, in fact, gave up his power of arbitrarily and wantonly summoning the king of Scotland to attend him where he pleased. The whole, it must be acknowledged, affords a strong proof of the spirit of independency which then actuated the king and the people of Scotland.

Hitherto, the great claim of Northumberland, urged by William, lay undecided, on the pretence, formerly made by Richard, that it must be referred to his court of peers. The necessities, however, of that monarch at last obliged him to make a general resumption of the lands that had been alienated from the crown; and, among these, of Northumberland, which was then possessed by the bishop of Durham. That prelate, sensible that it would be in vain to dispute the king's pleasure, resigned the county into the hands of Hugh Bardolf, one of Richard's favourites. William was offended at this proceeding, and knowing how much the English king wanted money, offered to pay him down, for Northumberland, the sum of fifteen thousand marks. Richard would have gladly accepted the money, and have given up the revenues; but he refused to part with the castles, because the prerogative of the king of England suffered no fortified place to remain in the hands of a subject. William, therefore, very wisely broke off the treaty, which must have terminated in a precarious possession of the county, to which he otherwise pleaded a right.

Upon the accession of John to the crown of England, A.D. 1199.
in 1199, the liberty of the great barons to build castles on their own estates was again agitated. They thought, that as John's title was precarious (his elder brother's son being alive), the juncture was favourable for their demands;
and

and they were not deceived. David, brother to the king of Scotland, was present at an assembly held at Northampton, in which the barons swore an eventual fealty to John, on condition of their being confirmed in their privileges. One of these, they alleged, was that of fortifying castles on their own estates. William, as the first subject of England, lost no time in reviving his claim to the disputed northern counties. He sent an ambassador to the English regency (John being then in Normandy), with a peremptory requisition of the litigated counties; and with orders, if they should not receive satisfaction, to proceed to Normandy, and apply to John in person. This was a delicate point, both with regard to John and the regency. The former was afraid lest William should espouse the cause of his elder brother's son, the young duke of Brittany; and the latter, that, if John gratified the king of Scotland, those two princes might unite, and put an end to their liberties. After the Scottish ambassadors had their audience in England, the regency flatly refused to suffer them to proceed to Normandy; and, by messengers of their own, they informed John of their errand. His answer was, that, upon his arrival in England, he would do justice to the king of Scotland, provided that the latter should in the mean time keep the peace. John soon after landed in England; and, after his coronation, he gave audience to the Scottish ambassadors; transmitting, by them, a soothing answer to William, and promising to satisfy him in all his demands, if the latter would grant him a meeting: at the same time, he ordered the bishop of Durham to receive William upon the frontiers. The reply of the Scottish king was, that he would no longer be trifled with; and that he knew how to do himself justice, if he did not obtain it within forty days.

A.D. 1200.

*William
meets with
king John.*

Soon after, John, upon the breach between him and his natural brother, Geoffrey, archbishop of York, sent a most splendid embassy, inviting William to meet him at Lincoln. Accordingly, on the 21st of November, both princes met; and William performed his homage in public to John, upon a presumption, that it was to put him in possession of Northumberland; for David was at that time earl of Huntingdon. The two kings, however, were far from agreeing upon the terms of William's investiture. John insisted upon his joining with him in a war which he was then meditating against the king of France, who had

* Buchan. Fordun.

lately

lately forced him to a most dishonourable treaty. William absolutely refused this demand: upon which, the two kings parted, mutually dissatisfied; but John promised to give William an answer by next Whitsuntide.

In 1209, the misunderstanding between William and John still continued. The former complained of a castle built near Berwick, by John's orders; and the latter pretended, that William had acted against his allegiance, by giving his daughter in marriage to the earl of Boulogne, and sheltering the English rebels. John, who was, at this time, upon very ill terms with his subjects, was glad of a popular pretext for keeping an army on foot. He took the field, and threatened to invade Scotland. By this time, William had demolished the fort; and neither party inclining to come to extremities, a conference was held at York, where matters were compromised. It was agreed, that the two Scottish princesses should be put into John's hands, to be married, in nine years, to his two sons, Henry and Richard, who were yet boys.

A.D. 1209.

A quarrel between them.

About this time was born Alexander, prince of Scotland, to the great joy of his father, who, according to Fordun, made an entire surrender to the king of England of all the lands he held in that kingdom; and they were invested in prince Alexander, at Alnwick. Two meetings were afterwards held; one at Durham, and the other at Norham; at which were present both kings, and their nobles, with the queen of Scotland; and a peace was concluded between the two kingdoms. To make it the more permanent, prince Alexander, at the age of fourteen, was knighted at London by the king of England.

In autumn 1213, William made a progress to the northern parts of his dominions, which had been infested by a powerful rebel. On his return from this expedition, he died at Stirling, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, and the forty-ninth of his reign.

A.D. 1214.

Alexander, when arrived at sixteen years of age, demanded (in consequence of former conventions) to be put in possession of Northumberland and the northern counties; but John, who now thought that he had obtained a complete triumph over the liberties of his people, slighted his request, and even made preparations for invading Scotland. He had given all the track between the river Teise and Scotland to Hugh de Baliol, and another nobleman, upon condition of their defending it against the Scots. Alexander complained of this; but, before he

Alexander II.

took

*His war
with Eng-
land.*

took the field, he exacted an oath of homage from the northern barons, and from all the military tenants of the counties to which he laid claim. He then fell upon Northumberland, which he easily reduced, while John invaded Scotland by the way of Yorkshire. The inhabitants laid their country waste, and fled for protection to Alexander, who had returned to Melrose; but he could not prevent John from burning the towns of Wark, Alnwick, and Morpeth, and taking the strong castles of Roxburgh and Berwick. John next plundered the abbey of Coldingham, reduced Dunbar and Haddington, and was advancing on full march against the capital; but finding Alexander encamped with the river Esk in his front, and ready to give him battle, he made a precipitate retreat. Being pursued by Alexander, he, in order to cover his retreat, burnt the towns of Berwick and Coldingham, and personally instructed his mercenaries in every barbarous act; for he set fire in the morning to the houses where he had lodged in the night. His army had the advantage of being supplied from his fleet with provisions; while Alexander's troops were stopt in their march by the desolation which their enemies had spread. Alexander being thus forced to discontinue his pursuit, marched to the westward; and, entering England by the way of Carlisle, which he took and fortified, he proceeded as far as Richmond, and retaliated upon John's adherents the same severities which his own subjects had undergone. There he was again stopt by John's ravages, and forced to return through Westmoreland to his own kingdom.

A D. 1221. In 1221, Alexander married the princess Joan, eldest sister of Henry III. and, during her life, a good understanding subsisted between the two kingdoms; but this princess dying about the year 1239, Alexander was again embroiled with the English king. By the mediation, however, of the earl of Conwal, Henry's brother, and the archbishop of York, the two princes were reconciled.

*Alexan-
der's mar-
riage.*

Alexander, hearing of some commotions in Argyleshire, went thither by sea to quell them; but falling sick, he was carried on shore, on one of the islands of that coast, called Kernerey, where he died, in the fifty-first year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign. He was buried at Melrose; and left no other issue besides Alexander, his son and successor, by his second queen, daughter

ter to Egelrand de Coucy, one of the most powerful of the French nobility^a.

This prince was not more than nine years of age at his father's death, and was crowned at Scone, with great solemnity, on the 15th of August. The year after his accession, the young king and his mother met at Dumfermling, where they raised the bones of the good queen Margaret, wife to Malcolm III. and placed them in a golden shrine, magnificently enriched with precious stones.

A.D. 1249.

Alexander III.

Soon after, a meeting of the states was held, in which the nobility expressed an earnest desire, that the match proposed between Alexander and the English princess should immediately take place. Ambassadors; were, therefore, sent to London, to obtain a confirmation of the late peace, and to demand Henry's daughter in marriage for the young king. Henry received the ambassadors with great pomp and many honours. He thought this a favourable opportunity for acquiring the actual government of Scotland, at least during Alexander's minority; which might prove the means of inducing that prince and the nation to give up the so much disputed independency of the Scottish crown. He readily granted all their demands; and ordered some of his own nobility to return with the ambassadors to Scotland, and to carry with them safe-conducts for Alexander, and his great lords, to meet him at York, by Christmas following; which was agreed to on the part of the Scots. Henry accordingly kept his Christmas at York, whither the king and queen-dowager of Scotland repaired, with their chief nobility. The two courts were magnificent beyond expression; but the queen-dowager outshone all the assembly in splendor. The marriage ceremony was performed with great pomp; and Alexander paid his homage to Henry for his English possessions; among which, particular mention is made of Lothian. Henry next pressed his son-in-law to perform his homage for the crown of Scotland; but this Alexander declined; returning for answer, that his business in England was matrimony; that he had come thither under Henry's protection, and by his invitation; and that he was not prepared to answer so difficult a question.

Henry was, perhaps, encouraged to this request by the dissensions which then prevailed among the Scottish nobles, of which he expected to be the arbiter. Dur-

^a Chron. Mel. Fordun.

wart, the justiciary of Scotland, was accused of having married the natural daughter of the late king Alexander, and of having made interest at Rome to get her, and her children, legitimated, so as to be in a capacity to succeed to the throne. The abbot of Dumfermling, then chancellor of Scotland, was charged with having passed this legitimation under the great-seal. Being conscious of guilt, he privately left York, and, returning to Scotland, surrendered the great-seal to the nobility, who ordered it to be broken in pieces until a new one should be made upon the return of the king. The chancellor then, after being shaved, shut himself up in a religious house^t.

The Cummins, a family which, at that time, exercised exorbitant power, thought that Henry's influence over his son-in-law, and in the affairs of Scotland, was now too great; and, fearing an impeachment against themselves, they also withdrew from York, leaving Henry in full possession of Alexander's person. To show that he deserved all the confidence the Scots could repose in him, he publicly declared, that he dropt all claim of superiority upon their crown; and that he would ever after act as a father and guardian of his son-in-law; confirming his assurances by a charter.

A.D. 1250.

Uncomfortable state of the king and queen.

Alexander, upon his return to Scotland, found, that the Cummins had formed a strong party against his English connections; while they, and their followers, exclaimed, that Scotland was now no better than a province of England. Henry receiving secret intelligence, that the Scottish nobility kept their king and queen as two state-prisoners in the castle of Edinburgh, the queen of England privately sent a physician, whom she could trust, to inquire into her daughter's situation. He had the address to be admitted into the company of the young queen, who gave him a most lamentable detail of her condition. She informed him, that the place of their confinement was to the last degree unwholesome; that they were debarred from seeing any company; and that they were allowed no concern in the affairs of government.

Henry, who seems to have had a sincere affection for his daughter, and his son-in-law, was under difficulties how to act. On one hand, he was afraid of their safety, if he should take violent measures; and he knew, that, in such a case, the majority of the Scottish nation would suspect that he had designs upon their independency. On

^t Fordun. Chron. Mel. C. Dunel.

the other hand, he dreaded the ambition, power, and wickedness, of those who kept the royal pair in their present situation; nor was he insensible that some of them had secret views upon the crown. By the advice of Alexander's friends, he proceeded in a middle, and, indeed, a wise manner. He assembled his military tenants at York, whence himself advanced to Newcastle, where he published a manifesto, disclaiming all designs against the peace or interest of Scotland; and declaring, that the forces collected at York were intended to maintain both; and that all he meant was to have an interview with the king, and the queen, his daughter, upon the borders. Proceeding from Newcastle to Wark, he thence privately dispatched the earl of Gloucester, and his favourite John Mansel, with a train of trusty followers, to gain admission into the castle of Edinburgh, which was then held by John Baliol and Robert de Ross, noblemen of great interest in England as well as in Scotland. The earl and Mansel being disguised, got admittance into the castle, on pretence of their being tenants to Baliol or de Ross; and their followers also obtained access, without any suspicion, until they were numerous enough to have mastered the garrison, had they met with resistance. The queen immediately joined them, and disclosed all the tyranny in which she and her husband were held. Beside other particulars, she declared, that she was still a virgin, and her jailors obliged her to lie in a bed apart from her husband. The English, being masters of the castle, ordered the king and queen to be accommodated with one and the same bed that very night; and Henry, hearing of the success of his party, sent a safe-conduct for the royal pair to meet him at Alnwick. Robert de Ross was summoned by Henry to answer for his conduct; but, throwing himself at the king's feet, Henry punished him only by the sequestration of his estate; as he did John Baliol by a severe fine, which that prince applied entirely to his own use. The Cummins, and their friends, were removed from the council-board, and others substituted in their places. But Henry, to avoid giving offence to the Scots, bound himself, that what he then did never should be drawn into a precedent to the prejudice of Alexander, his heirs or successors, or of the crown of Scotland.

Who are relieved by the king of England.

The Cummins, while they affected to appear satisfied with all the arrangements that had been made, were privately strengthening their party; and Alexander being thrown into a state of security, the earl of Menteith,

Intrigues of the Cummins.

with a band of his followers, surprised him, while asleep, in the castle of Kinrop, whence they carried him to that of Stirling^u. The rebels now making dispositions for restoring their power and influence, the whole kingdom was a scene of confusion. The great seal was forcibly taken from Robert Stuterville, substitute to the chancellor, the bishop of Dunkeld; the estates of the royalists were plundered; and even the churches were not spared. The king, however, happening to be set at liberty, he assumed the exercise of the regal power; when, notwithstanding the provocation he had received, he acted with great moderation. As he was now of age, he pardoned the Cummins and their adherents, upon their submitting to his authority; and he thereby obtained leisure to attend the affairs of his government. But a storm was now ready to break upon Alexander from another quarter.

A.D. 1263.

*Dispute
with Nor-
way.*

Donald Bane, brother to Malcolm Canmore, had laid himself under engagements to the king of Norway, for assisting him to make good his pretensions to the throne of Scotland. Haquin, at this time king of Norway, alleged, that these engagements extended to Donald's delivering up the islands of Bute, Arran, and others, in the frith of Clyde, as belonging to the Ebudæ. Some negotiations for that purpose were carried on during the reign of Alexander II. but were productive of no effect. For Alexander, instead of yielding up the islands demanded, seemed disposed, towards the latter end of his reign, to recover those which his crown had lost. On the 1st of August, 1263, Haquin appeared on the western coast with no less than a hundred and sixty ships, and disembarking his troops, made himself master of the castle of Aire. Alexander, upon the news of this invasion, dispatched ambassadors to enter upon a treaty with Haquin; but the latter, flushed with success, rejected all terms, and, after reducing the isles of Arran and Bute, passed over to Cunningham. Alexander, by this time, had assembled an army, with which he marched, himself commanding the center division, and came up with the enemy at a place called Largs. The invincible hatred of the Norwegians and Danes, which had been transmitted among the Scots during many ages, rendered the battle that ensued uncommonly bloody. After a long and doubtful contest, victory at last declared in favour of the Scots; when, the invaders being once broken, a terrible slaughter

^u Ford. Buch.

took place. Of the Norwegians, no fewer than sixteen thousand are said to have perished in the field; while the loss of the Scots was five thousand. Some escaped to their ships, which were so much wrecked the day after, that it was with difficulty Haquin procured a vessel, which carried him and a few friends to the Orkneys, where he soon after died of grief ^w.

Haquin's son and successor, Magnus (who, we are told, had landed in another part of Scotland, with reinforcements for his father) proposed a treaty with Alexander, which the latter, however, rejected. Magnus, after his return to Norway, sent the bishop of Hamar, and his chancellor, as ambassadors to the king of Scotland, offering him restitution of the isles of Bute and Arrian, provided he was left in quiet possession of the Ebudæ. After a second embassy, and some conferences, a treaty was concluded; by which Magnus renounced all right in those islands, which any of his predecessors claimed or possessed; Alexander undertaking, at the same time, to pay Magnus one thousand marks of silver in two years, and a hundred marks yearly for ever after. As a cement of friendship between the two kings, a treaty of marriage was concluded between Margaret, Alexander's daughter, then only four years of age, and Eric, son and heir to Magnus, who was likewise a child.

In 1256, Alexander and his queen, in consequence of an invitation from Henry, repaired to the English court, whither they were attended by a retinue of three hundred horse. Their entertainment is represented as extremely sumptuous; and Henry, the more to engage Alexander to his person, granted him a full investiture of the earldom of Huntingdon, with the same rights that any of his predecessors had enjoyed. The queen was delivered in England; after which event she and her husband returned to their own kingdom.

During the war between Henry and his barons, Alexander assisted him with five thousand men, and preserved the northern fortresses against all their attempts.

The events in the Scottish history for some years after this period, consist chiefly of deaths and marriages. The queen died in 1274; and in 1279, died David, Alexander's second son. Next year prince Alexander, the king's eldest son, was married with great pomp to the daughter of the earl of Flanders; and the year after, lady Margaret, Alexander's eldest daughter, who had been

^w Buch. Chron. Dun.

betrotted to the king of Norway, embarked for that country with a great retinue.

A.D. 1281.

Henry III. of England being now dead, and his son, Edward I. having acceded to the throne, Alexander, with all his family, was present at the ceremony of his coronation. Soon after Edward had received the crown, Alexander paid him homage for his English estates. He proved an excellent ally to the English king in his wars against the French; and Edward passed a charter, by which he acknowledged, that Alexander's services in those wars were not in consequence of his holding lands in England, but as an ally to his crown.

A.D. 1282.

In the parliament which was held at Westminster in 1282, Alexander was present, as the first peer of England; and it appears, that at this time, Edward had formed pretensions upon a paramount power to the crown of Scotland. In a charter then granted, he inserted a salvo, arrogating his superiority, and reserving his right to the homage of the kingdom of Scotland, when it should be claimed by him or his heirs. The bishop of Norwich, who was to administer the oath, suggested that salvo; and for this reason Alexander would not perform the homage in person, but left it to be paid by Robert Bruce, earl of Carric, Alexander standing by, and expressly declaring, that it was only paid for the lands he held in England. This was, doubtless, an extraordinary proceeding; but Alexander was at this time in Edward's power.

A.D. 1283.

*Death of
prince Alexander.*

Next year died, at the castle of Stirling, Alexander, prince of Scotland, in the twentieth year of his age; and his death was followed, in a month after, by that of his sister, the queen of Norway, who left an only daughter, Margaret, scarcely a year old.

Alexander now having no other surviving issue than this infant princess, his nobility and the states of the kingdom solemnly addressed him to marry. He yielded to their request, and dispatched ambassadors to France, to demand in marriage Ioletta, daughter to the count of Dreux; to whom, upon her arrival in Scotland, he was accordingly married. This excellent prince was soon after killed, while hunting, by his horse rushing down a high precipice, since called the Black Rock, near Kinghorn; in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign *.

A.D. 1285.

*19th Mar.
Death of
the king.*

* Chron. Dun.

C H A P. III.

*From the Death of Alexander III. to the Death of the
Regent Duke of Albany.*

AT the time of Alexander's death, the Scots were acquiring a new character. They cultivated connections on the continent; they got rid of many prejudices and prepossessions with regard to government; and while their kings never encroached within the great barriers of public liberty, so neither did they ever permit the introduction of papal tyranny into their dominions; a circumstance, it must be acknowledged, in which their good policy, and the liberal disposition of the people, shone forth with a lustre far superior to that of all the nations around them. The flourishing situation of the kingdom was not long of exciting the envy of Edward the First; and his numerous concerns on the continent contributed to his passion for rendering Scotland a province of the English crown; for he found the Scottish interest not a little prevalent at foreign courts, especially that of France, where he chiefly wished to have influence.

A.D. 1285.

*State of
Scotland.*

The great subjects of Scotland, both before and after the time of Alexander's unhappy death, appear to have been fully sensible of the inclination of Edward to annex their crown to that of England. Upon the marriage of Margaret, queen of Norway, consort of king Eric, the states of Scotland passed an act, obliging themselves to receive her and her heirs as sovereigns of Scotland. Edward, being in no condition to oppose this measure, in which the Scots were so unanimous, thought proper to dissemble his disquiet, and to endeavour to form a faction among the nobles. We accordingly find him supplying one of their greatest men, Bruce, lord of Annandale, with money, and giving subsidies to the king of Norway, and other northern courts. Under pretence of resuming the cross, he renewed his intrigues at the court of Rome, and demanded from the pope a bull for leave to collect the tenths in Scotland. But to this he received for answer, that his holiness could make no such grant, without consent of the government of Scotland.

Upon the death of Margaret, queen of Norway, her daughter was recognized by the states of Scotland as their queen; and she being then but two years old, they came to a resolution, in the same assembly, of excluding from the

the affairs of their government not only Edward, but their queen's father. They accordingly established a regency of their own number, consisting of six noblemen, three of whom were appointed to the superintendency of all that part of Scotland which lay to the south of Forth, and the other three to the direction of all affairs to the north of the same river.

*Negotiation
between
Eric and
Edward,*

These proceedings gave disgust to Eric, who considered himself as the natural guardian of his own child and her interests; and we find him early cultivating a correspondence with Edward, to concert the means of shaking the new government. Edward readily entered into this design which was not a little facilitated by the death of the earl of Buchan, and the murder of the brave earl of Fife, both regents, and two of the wisest as well as greatest men of the kingdom. It appears that the negotiation between Edward and Eric, or, as the Scottish historians call him, Hagucnon, who was under considerable pecuniary obligations to the former, terminated in a treaty of marriage between the queen of Scotland and Edward prince of Wales, though both in their infancy. It was agreed by the commissioners of the two kings, to acquaint the states of Scotland with the result of their conferences, and to demand that a deputation should be sent up for settling the regency of Scotland, or, in other words, for putting it into the hands of the two kings.

*about
Margaret's
marriage.*

As the independency of their crown was the great object of the states, they could not refuse to treat of a marriage agreed to by their queen's two nearest relations, her father and her grand-uncle. They therefore appointed deputies, with full powers; but with a salvo to all the liberties and honours of the realm of Scotland; to which Edward agreed. These deputies met with those of England and Norway at Salisbury; where, by Edward's management, he procured the concurrence of the Scottish deputies to the terms which he proposed.

*Terms
agreed to.*

It was agreed, first, that the young queen should, before the feast of All Saints, be sent (free of all marriage engagements) into England or Scotland. The Norwegian ambassadors undertook for the execution of this article.

Secondly, that if the queen came to England she should be at liberty to repair to Scotland, as soon as the distractions of that kingdom were settled; that she should,

on her arrival in her own dominions, be free of all her matrimonial contracts; but that the Scots should engage not to dispose of her in marriage without her father's or Edward's consent.

Thirdly, the Scottish deputies promised to give such security as the Norwegian commissioners should require; that the tranquility of the nation should be restored before her arrival there, where she might reside safely as lady, queen, and heiress of Scotland.

Fourthly, the commissioners of Scotland and Norway, joined with commissioners from England, should remove such regents and officers of state in Scotland as should be suspected of disaffection, and place others in their stead. If the Scottish and Norwegian commissioners should disagree on that, or any other head, relating to the government of Scotland, the decision was to be left to the arbitration of the English commissioners. This agreement was dated and executed at Salisbury, the 6th of November, 1289. Two copies of it were given in French to the Scottish and English commissioners, and one in Latin to those of Norway.

It is evident, from the terms of this agreement, that, notwithstanding the plausible pretexts with regard to the young queen's safety and independence, the whole tendency of it was to transfer the government of Scotland into Edward's hands; and that his commissioners acted in concert with those of Norway. It appears, from the words of the agreement, that the Scots were then in a ferment concerning the disposal of their queen; and it cannot be doubted, from the party which Edward had in the kingdom. The insincerity of this negotiation is farther evident, from the engagements into which Edward entered with the commissioners of the two crowns, to give the queen handsome entertainment when she should be put into his hands. In fact, the alternative of her landing in Scotland, or, if she landed in England, to be sent thither without matrimonial engagements, were merely matters of form; because the pope's dispensation for the marriage between her and young Edward, is dated on the 14th of the same month^b.

A.D. 1289.

*Insincerity
of the ne-
gociation.*

Edward had by this time formed so strong a faction in Scotland, that no opposition was made to the late agreement, in a parliament (for that term was then made use of in Scotland) held at Brechin, to deliberate upon the

*Proceedings
of the Scots.*

^b Chron. Dunst. Fordun.

settlement of the kingdom. It appears, that the Scottish deputies resided still in England, and that Edward had intimated to the regency of Scotland, that he intended to interpose in their public affairs, either in person, or by his commissioners. It is uncertain whether he communicated to the Scottish parliament the dispensation in form ; but most probably he did not, because, in a letter which they wrote at this time, they mention it as an affair they heard by report. But, on the whole, they highly approved of the marriage upon certain conditions, to which Edward was previously to agree. Meanwhile, they dispatched a public letter to Norway, informing Eric of their consenting to match, and even desiring him to send their queen directly to England, upon the conditions abovementioned.

Edward now thought that he had surmounted all difficulties with regard to the match ; and without making any mention of the conditions, he ordered the bishop of Durham, as his ambassador to Norway, to inform Eric of the consent of the Scottish nobility, and to demand the young queen for his son. Eric, however, very wisely thifted off the delivery of the queen until he should hear farther from Scotland. This delay alarmed Edward, who was so solicitous for the match, that he had undertaken, under a penalty to the Scots, that Eric should send their queen to England, or give security to do it, before the feast of All-Saints following. His difficulties were increased, when the Scottish deputies presented him with the instructions which had been transmitted to them from their parliament, and which tended to put the independency of Scotland upon a permanent foundation. Edward pretended that the powers of the Scottish commissioners were too limited for concluding so weighty an affair ; and in hopes of disuniting the parliament, which was still sitting at Brechin, he sent thither the bishops of Durham and Carlisle, with four other commissioners. Here the conditions which were to be agreed to previous to the marriage, were exhibited, and they are as follow :

First, That the Scots should enjoy all their privileges and immunities, both ecclesiastical and civil. But there is an ambiguous, and indeed an insidious, salvo, which was, saving the rights of the king of England, or any other person, on the marches, or elsewhere.

Secondly, That if Edward and Margaret shall die, without issue of the body of Margaret, the kingdom shall
revert

revert entire and independent to the next immediate heir.

Thirdly, That in case of the death of prince Edward, without issue of the body of Margaret, her majesty's person shall be remitted in like manner, free and independent to Scotland.

Fourthly, That no person, either ecclesiastic or laic, shall be compelled to go out of the kingdom; to ask leave either to elect, or present their elects; nor to do homage, fealty, and services, nor to prosecute law-suits.

Fifthly, That the kingdom of Scotland shall have a chancellor, officers of state, courts of judicature, &c. as before; and that a new seal shall be made and kept by the chancellor, but with the ordinary arms of Scotland, and the name of none but the queen of Scotland engraved upon it.

Sixthly, That all the papers, records, privileges, and other documents of the royal dignity of the crown and kingdom of Scotland, shall be lodged in some secure place within the kingdom, and there kept until either the queen shall return to her own kingdom, or shall have heirs to succeed her.

Seventhly, That parliaments, when called to treat of matters concerning the state or inhabitants of Scotland, shall be held within the bounds of the kingdom.

Eighthly, That no duties, taxes, levies of men, &c. shall be exacted in Scotland, but such as, being usual in former times, shall consist with the common interest and good of the nation.

Ninthly, That the king of England shall oblige himself, and his heirs, in a bond of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, payable to the church of Rome, in aid to the Holy Land, to make restitution of the kingdom in the cases aforesaid; and that he shall consent that the pope restrain him and his heirs, by excommunicating them, and interdicting their kingdom, both to the foresaid restriction, and payment of the said sum of money, if he or they do not adhere to the engagements.

Lastly, That Edward, at his own charges, shall procure the pope to confirm these articles within a year after the consummation of the marriage; and that, within the same time, the bull of his holiness shall be delivered to the community (that is, the barons and prelates) of the kingdom of Scotland.

Such were the stipulations made by the states of Scotland, previous to the marriage of their queen with young Edward. When the whole of this transaction is considered, no people ever took more just and wise precautions, than the Scots did to secure their independency. The articles are drawn up as if they had foreseen the claims that were to be made upon it by Edward, whose secret views were perhaps at this time suspected, from the immense sums which he expended in forming a party among the Scots.

*English
party in
Scotland.*

At the head of this party were the bishop of St. Andrew's and John Baliol. That prelate, while he was in England, was greatly carressed by Edward, from whom he had vast expectations of preferment; and Baliol, on account of his great English estates, considered the monarch of that kingdom as his sovereign. Upon the bishop's return to Scotland, he acted as a spy for Edward, and carried on with him a secret correspondence, informing him of all public transactions. Some commotions having arisen in Scotland, in consequence of a report of the queen's death, this bishop sent immediate intelligence of them to Edward; and even advised him; if the report should prove true, to march a body of troops towards the frontiers of Scotland, to support the direction which he had obtained in the affairs of that kingdom by the late conventions, and to secure to himself the nomination, upon his own terms, of a successor to that crown.

Edward, in consequence of the bishop of St. Andrew's advice, was preparing to march towards Scotland; but his queen dying on the road, a stop was, for some time, put to his journey.

A.D. 1290.

*Death of
the young
queen of
Scotland.
Measures
of Edward.*

Two ambassadors having been sent from the Scottish parliament to Denmark, to bring home their queen at the national expence, such preparatious were made for her reception as were for that age and country magnificent. The English ambassadors, attended by the Scottish nobility, were setting out for the North to receive her, when intelligence of her death, on unquestionable authority, arrived. The consternation into which the Scots were thrown by this event, can be more easily imagined than described. The well-concerted plans of Edward for joining the two crowns, were at one blow rendered entirely abortive; but his mind had been too much bent upon

† Heming. Walsing. Ford.

that

that favourite object, to relinquish his ambitious prospects, and what could not now be effected by union, he resolved to attempt by subjection. He seems to have had the possibility of Margaret's death all along in his eye; and when the melancholy event happened, he was prepared to act accordingly. The state of Scotland, on the other hand, was at this time extremely perplexed. The act of succession established by the late king, being determined by the death of young Margaret, could have no farther operation: and since the crown was rendered hereditary, there was no precedent by which to be guided in naming the successor to the throne. The Scots, in general, however, turned their eyes upon the posterity of David, earl of Huntingdon, brother to the two kings, Malcolm the Maiden, who died in 1165, and his successor William, who died in 1214. The earl of Huntingdon was a prince of great activity and interest, well known on the continent of Europe, where he had very considerable connections. He had three daughters; the eldest, Margaret, was married to Allen, lord of Galloway. The only issue of that marriage was Dervogild, who was married to John Baliol, and was still alive; and had a son, John Baliol, a competitor for the crown. The second daughter was Isabella, married to Robert Bruce, and their son, Robert Bruce, was likewise a candidate. The third daughter, Ada, had been married to Henry Hastings, an English nobleman, a predecessor of the present earl of Huntingdon. The son of this marriage, John Hastings, was the third competitor. But as the two other claims were confessedly preferable to his, he only put in for the third part of the kingdom, upon the principle that his mother was joint heir with her two sisters.

Beside these, there arose other competitors for the crown of Scotland. But it was soon perceived that the pretenders to the succession must be reduced, as in fact they were, to two, Baliol and Bruce. The question of right between them was, Whether Baliol, who was fourth in descent by the eldest daughter, or Bruce, who was third in descent by the second daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon, had the preferable title to the crown? Had the same laws and modes of succession prevailed then in Scotland which have done so since that time, there could have been no opposition to Baliol. But in that age, the order of succession was not ascertained with precision. The question appeared to be no less intricate, than it was important; and though the prejudices of the people, and
perhaps

perhaps the laws of the kingdom favoured Bruce, each of the competitors was supported by a powerful faction. Baliol was sprung from the elder branch: Bruce was one degree nearer the common stock. If the principle of representation was regarded, the former had the better claim: if propinquity was considered, the latter was entitled to the preference ^f.

*State of
parties.*

Edward, who undoubtedly had by this time formed his plan of proceeding with regard to the independency of Scotland, could not, consistently with himself (if Scotland was a fief of England, as he afterwards pretended) suffer any other mode of succession to take place there, but such as was agreeable to the laws of England; and those were in favour of Baliol. This nobleman, either through the mildness of his own temper, or conscious of the defeat of his title, had, for some time, attached himself to Edward, and, with the bishop of St. Andrew's, had managed his affairs in Scotland. Bruce depended not more upon the justice, than the popularity of his claim, and its being connected with the independency of the kingdom. Like Baliol, he had a large property in England; being possessed of the earldom of Cleveland. But he had little influence with the regency of Scotland; for there Baliol's and Edward's party prevailed, and was supported by the Cummins, whose interest was very extensive. The anarchy attending an interregnum rendered the exigency pressing; and it was evident, that, if the decision was left to the claimants, the sword alone must determine the dispute. In order, therefore, to avoid the miseries of a civil war, Edward was chosen umpire, and both parties agreed to acquiesce in his decree.

A.D. 1291.

*They choose
Edward to
be their
umpire.*

The temptation was too strong for the virtue of the English monarch to resist. He resolved to lay hold of the present favourable opportunity, and if not to create, at least to revive, his claim of a feudal superiority over Scotland; a claim which had hitherto lain in the deepest obscurity, and which, if ever it had been an object of attention, or had been so much as suspected, would have effectually prevented the Scottish barons from choosing him for an umpire. He well knew, that, if this pretension were once submitted to, as it seemed difficult, in the present situation of Scotland, to oppose it, the absolute sovereignty of that kingdom would soon follow. Edward now busied himself in searching for proofs of

^f Buch.

his pretended superiority; but not finding them in his own archives, where, if real, they ought to have existed, he ordered all the monasteries to be ransacked for old chronicles and histories written by Englishmen; and he collected all the passages which seemed anywise to favour his pretensions. Yet even in this method of proceeding, which must have discovered to himself the injustice of his claim, he was far from being fortunate. He began his proofs from the time of Edward the Elder, and continued them through all the subsequent Saxon and Norman times; but was able to produce nothing to his purpose. To such scandalous shifts was he reduced, that he quotes a passage from Hoveden, where that historian asserts, that a Scottish king had done homage to England; but he purposely omits the latter part of the sentence, which expresses that this prince did homage for the lands which he held in England. But where proofs were deficient, Edward had prepared to enforce them with the power of the sword. Carrying with him a great army, he advanced to the frontiers, and invited the Scottish nobility and all the competitors to attend him in the castle of Norham, a place situated on the southern banks of the Tweed, in order to determine the cause which had been referred to his arbitration. Lest the Scots, however, should take umbrage, at being desired to pass their frontiers, he sent them an acknowledgement, that this step should never be drawn into precedent, or afford the English kings pretence for exacting a like submission in any future transaction.

*Conduct of Edward.**His unfair claim.*

The Scottish deputies having thus unwarily put themselves in Edward's power, he opened the conferences at Norham. He informed them, by the mouth of Roger de Brabançon, his chief justiciary, that he was come thither to determine the right among the competitors to the crown; that he was resolved to do strict justice to all parties; and that he was entitled to this authority, not in virtue of the reference made to him, but in quality of superior and liege lord of the kingdom. He then produced his proofs of this superiority; which he pretended to be unquestionable, and he required of them an acknowledgement of it. The Scottish deputies were astonished at so new a pretension, and answered only by their silence. But Edward, the better to preserve the appearance of free and regular proceedings, desired them to deliberate upon his claim, and to inform him of their resolution. Next day the assembly was held in Norham-church,

Conferences at Norham.

church, where the deputies from Scotland insisted upon their giving no answer to the king of England's claim, which could be only decided by the whole community; representing, at the same time, that numbers of the Scottish noblemen and prelates were absent, whose sentiments of the affair were necessary to be known, previous to any determination. In consequence of this remonstrance, Edward, though apparently persuaded that they were authorized to treat of his demand, gave them a delay of three weeks for taking the sense of their constituents².

Edward made use of this interval in increasing the number of claimants to the crown of Scotland, and in flattering each with hopes, upon the condition of acknowledging his superiority; nor did his artifices prove ineffectual. On the 2d of June following, the assembly resumed its session; and the place of meeting was at this time surrounded by a numerous English army. The success of the king's intrigues now became obvious, from the obsequiousness of each of the competitors. Robert Bruce was the first that acknowledged Edward's right of superiority respecting Scotland, in which he was followed by the other candidates. Baliol, lest he should give offence to the Scottish nation, had purposely been absent during the first days; but at last he appeared, and made the same recognition as the others.

Edward next deliberated concerning the method of proceeding in the discussion of this great controversy. He gave orders that the competitors should choose eighty commissioners, to which number he added twenty-four Englishmen of his own nomination. These hundred and four were to examine the cause deliberately among themselves, and make their report to him, who, he promised, would, in the ensuing year, give his determination. He pretended, however, that it was requisite to have all the fortresses of Scotland delivered into his hands, in order to enable him, without opposition, to put the true heir in possession of the crown; and this exorbitant demand was complied with, both by the states and by the claimants. The governors also of all the castles immediately resigned their command; except Umfreville, earl of Angus, who refused, without a formal and particular acquittal from the parliament, and the several claimants, to deliver up those of Dundee and Forfar. Before the breaking up of this assembly, which had fixed such a mark of dishonour

² Heming. Buchan. Trivet.

upon the nation, all the prelates and barons present swore fealty to Edward ; and that prince appointed commissioners to receive a like oath from all the other barons and persons of distinction in Scotland^b.

Edward having finally made, as he imagined, this important acquisition, left the commissioners to sit at Berwick, and examine the titles of the several competitors ; while he went southwards, both in order to assist at the funeral of his mother, queen Eleanor, who died about this time, and to compose some differences which had arisen among his principal nobility.

During this interval, the titles of John Baliol and Robert Bruce, whose claims appeared to be the best founded among the competitors, underwent the disquisition of the commissioners. Edward, in order to give greater authority to his intended decision, proposed this general question both to the commissioners, and to all the celebrated lawyers in Europe : Whether a person descended from the elder sister, but farther removed by one degree, were preferable in the succession of kingdoms, fiefs, and other indivisible inheritances, to one descended from the younger sister, but one degree nearer to the common stock ? After long and solemn debates, the commissioners pronounced, that, according to the laws and customs of both kingdoms, the descendants of the eldest daughter were to be preferred. With this answer likewise the opinion of the lawyers coincided. This decision plainly gave the priority to Baliol ; but Edward refused to pronounce sentence until November following, when he gave it directly against Bruce. But though Bruce was thus excluded from the crown, the contest was far from being finished. Edward pretended, that the setting aside the claims of Bruce did not establish those of Baliol, until the titles of the other competitors were also discussed. But the whole of this important transaction soon took a new turn.

A.D. 1292.

*Edward's
state of the
question.*

*Bruce ex-
cluded from
the suc-
cession.*

Bruce, being thus excluded from the sovereignty, gave intimation that he had another plea to offer, which was, that Scotland was not to be considered as an indivisible fee. In this plea he was supported by Hastings, whose pretensions, supposing the divisibility of the fee, were the same with his. Edward, to maintain his character of moderation and impartiality, ordered the commissioners to examine whether the kingdom of Scotland was a divisible

*He brings
a farther
plea.*

^b Buch. Chron. Dun.

*Judgment
given for
Baliol, who
is crowned
at Scone.*

fee; but their answer was in the negative; and the indivisibility of it was accordingly established.

Baliol might be now said to be without a competitor, and Edward fixed the 19th of November for pronouncing final judgment in his favour. This, therefore, being pronounced, Baliol went directly to Scone, where he received the crown, and was recognized by all the nobility, excepting Bruce, who was absent. He then returned to Newcastle, and performed his homage to Edward for the crown of Scotland in the most ample terms. But he soon found that Edward's real design was to render him of no importance, and even to engross the executive power of his nominal kingdom. Seeing likewise that he had forfeited the esteem of the Scots, even of those who had joined him in their shameful submissions, he hoped to gain their confidence by a more spirited behaviour; but in this he found himself mistaken. Edward reserved a power in his own breast of explaining his paramount rights in what sense he pleased, and carrying them into a claim of property. He renewed the distinction between his engagements as umpire, and his rights of superiority; alleging, that, though his power in the former capacity had ceased, it remained in full force in the latter.

His bondage to Edward.

Edward, as claiming the authority of direct lord of Scotland, had appointed certain officers of his own to reside there, and superintend his affairs. Some of these had injured a burgher of Berwick, who complained to Edward of the behaviour of his officers; while the king and nobility of Scotland resolved to make his complaint a common cause. Edward referred the complaint to his judges, of whom Brabançon, the professed enemy of Scotland, was chief justice of the king's bench; but with a peremptory order, that the matter should be determined according to the laws of England, which, in reality, superseded the operation of the laws of Scotland, where the facts complained of were committed. This reference being intimated to Baliol, he ordered the bishop of St. Andrew's, the earl of Buchan, Patrick de Graham, Thomas Randolph, and others of his nobility, to present a petition in his name to the English judges, complaining of the king's procedure, and setting forth his engagements to observe the laws and customs of Scotland, where alone all pleas, concerning things transacted in the realm, could be legally determined; praying, at the same time, that

that Edward would observe his promises, and enjoin his officers to adhere to them with due attention.

A method so humble as that of proceeding by petition, was no favourable omen of success. Brabançon's answer was full of haughtiness. He said, that Edward's officers were representatives of his own person, and that, therefore, the cognizance of every thing relating to their conduct belonged only to him and his laws. Edward, in full parliament, justified Brabançon's doctrine; declared that all the promises he had made with regard to Scotland, were to be considered only as temporary, and determinable with the occasion; that they could not affect his rights of superiority and direct dominion, which entitled him, if he pleased, to judge of the complaints of all its inhabitants, of whatever nature they might be. Edward soon after confirmed this declaration in his own council-chamber, in the presence of Baliol, and some of the chief nobility of both kingdoms; adding, that if he thought proper, he would oblige even the king of Scotland to answer in person at the bar of his tribunal. This menace he soon after fulfilled, requiring king John himself, by six different summonses, on trivial occasions, to repair to London; refused him the privilege of defending his cause by a procurator, and obliged him to appear at the bar of his parliament as a private person. These humiliating demands had been hitherto unknown to a king of Scotland: they are, however, the necessary consequence of vassalage by the feudal law; and as there was no preceding instance of such treatment towards a prince of that country, Edward must, from that circumstance alone, had there remained any doubt, have been himself convinced, that his claim was altogether a usurpation. But his design evidently was to drive Baliol into rebellion by these indignities, and to assume the dominion of the state as the punishment of his treason and felony. Accordingly Baliol, though a prince of a gentle disposition, returned into Scotland highly provoked at this usage, and resolved at all hazards to vindicate his liberty. Edward being now engaged in a war with France, was ready to embark for that kingdom, at the head of a great army, when he received intelligence of a private negotiation carrying on between Baliol and Philip de Valois. Upon this he gave the command of his army to his nephew, the earl of Richmond, himself remaining in England to attend the motions of the Scots and the Welch, who, encouraged by the present embarrassed state of his affairs

Haughtiness of the English judges.

A D. 1293.

Indignities offered to Baliol.

Negotiation between Baliol and the court of France.

W. GUY.

abroad,

abroad, were already in arms. Baliol had now regained so much credit with his subjects, that a French ambassador appeared in Scotland, and openly demanded a renewal of the ancient leagues between the two nations, with assistance against the king of England*. Edward, at the same time, by his ambassador, as superior lord of Scotland, required aid against the king of France. The demands of both ambassadors were debated before the states of Scotland, and their determination went in favour of France; or, in other words, they resolved to shake off the yoke of Edward. Plenipotentiaries were accordingly named to repair to the French court, where, upon their arrival, a secret treaty was concluded between them and that king.

A.D. 1695.

*A treaty
concluded
between
Scotland
and France.*

Edward, though he had received intelligence of this treaty, dissembled his resentment with great art. He sent the abbots of New Minster and Welbeck to acquaint Baliol of his having prorogued his parliament, and of his intention to repair to the northern counties. But they had instructions to demand, that as he had entered into war with France, the castles of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh, should be put into his hands during the continuance of the war. The Scottish and English historians concur in affirming, that this demand was not complied with; but, from a record published by Mr. Rymer, there is some reason to believe, that Baliol would have given them up, partly through fear, and partly through a scruple of conscience, on account of the oath he had taken to Edward, from which he was not yet absolved. The latter was, perhaps, the true motive for Baliol's resigning, at this time, to the states of Scotland, the exercise of his power. It is said, that they chose twelve guardians, and formed a seal for the community of Scotland. Meanwhile Baliol, assisted by the interest of Philip, prevailed upon pope Celestine to absolve him from his oath of allegiance to Edward, which was no sooner done than he resolved to act without farther reserve.

*Baliol
resigns the
govern-
ment.*

A.D. 1696.

*The Eng-
lish driven
out of
Scotland.*

In the beginning of the next year, Edward marched northwards, at the head of a numerous army; and, on the 1st of March, he held his parliament at Newcastle upon Tyne. He thence issued a new summons for Baliol to appear before him; but was answered by the almost unanimous voice of the Scots, that neither their king nor they owed him any farther allegiance; and, as a proof of

* Buchanan.

their resolution, they expelled from their country all Englishmen, ecclesiastics as well as laics, and appropriated their estates and effects for carrying on the war against England. Edward being informed of those transactions, continued his march to Bamborough, where he again summoned Baliol, by proclamation, to appear before him; but, instead of complying, the latter sent a formal renunciation of his allegiance.

Baliol renounces his allegiance to Edward, who courts Bruce.

Edward, seeing the plan which he had laid down for making Baliol his lieutenant in Scotland, with a royal title, vanish into smoke, had now no other resource for dividing the Scots among themselves, than to gain over Bruce and his interest. This Bruce was the son of the original competitor of that name, who was now dead. He was earl of Carrick in right of his wife; and had a son, the famous Robert Bruce, who afterwards proved the great deliverer of his country, but was then no more than thirteen years of age. Edward sent for the elder Bruce, and offered him the crown of Scotland on the same terms that he had given it to Baliol. Bruce readily accepted the offer, and, with his young son, performed homage to Edward, as did the earl of March and Dunbar, and Umfreville, earl of Angus. The elder Bruce was a great favourite with Edward, and was prevailed upon to write to all his party in Scotland to be ready to declare for the king of England.

Meantime the earls of Monteith, Athol, Strathern, and Mar, had raised an army of four thousand foot and five hundred horse, most of them Highlanders. Marching through Annandale, they ravaged the English borders to the very suburbs of Carlisle, which they burnt, and then laid siege to the town itself, but afterwards abandoned the enterprize.

The Scots invade England.

Notwithstanding the late treaty between Scotland and France, Philip de Valois had made a truce with Edward, and left the Scots to bear the brunt of his irresistible armaments by sea and land. His great object was the acquisition of Berwick, which was garrisoned with a body of the inhabitants of Fife and Lothian. The defence they made was very brave; for we are told, that in one assault which they made upon the town, they burnt eighteen of the English ships, and put all their crews to the sword. Edward, finding it necessary to have recourse to stratagem, removed his lines to a considerable distance, and employed some emissaries to inform the Scots upon the walls, that the English king, despairing of taking the town, was

resolved

*Edward
takes Ber-
wick.*

resolved to raise the siege, especially as Baliol was advancing with a great army to the relief of the place. All this was believed by the besieged, who, in a day or two, saw a large detachment of the English army, habited like their countrymen, and carrying the ensigns of Scotland, approach the walls. The credulous garrison marching out to give them a friendly reception, a party of the enemy got between them and the walls, and secured one of the gates which had been thrown open. The main body of the English army immediately rushed in, and an indiscriminate carnage ensued. Edward being master of the place, drew round it a large palisaded ditch, and annexed it for ever to the realm of England¹.

*Defeats the
Scots, and
takes Dun-
bar, Rox-
burgh,
Edinburgh
and Stir-
ling.*

Edward, elated with this success, dispatched an army of twelve thousand men to lay siege to Dunbar, which was defended by the flower of the Scottish nobility. The Scots, sensible of the importance of the place, which, if taken, laid the whole country open to the enemy, advanced with their main army, under the command of the earls of Buchan, Lenox, and Mar, in order to relieve it. The English general, confident of the superior discipline of his troops, marched onward to give them battle. The issue was fatal to the Scots, who there lost above ten thousand (the English authors say twenty thousand); upon which the castle of Dunbar was surrendered. The castle of Roxburgh was yielded by James, steward of Scotland; and that nobleman, from whom descended the royal family of Stuart, was again obliged to swear fealty to Edward. After a feeble resistance the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling opened their gates to the enemy. All the southern parts were instantly subdued by the English; and to enable them the better to reduce the northern, Edward sent for a strong reinforcement of Welch and Irish, who, being accustomed to a desultory kind of war, were the best fitted to pursue the Scots into their mountainous recesses. But the spirit of the nation was already broken by their misfortunes; and the feeble and timid Baliol, discontented with his own subjects, and overawed by the English, abandoned all those resources, which his people might yet have possessed in this extremity. He hastened to make his submissions to Edward; he expressed the deepest penitence for his disloyalty to his liege lord; and he made a solemn and irrevocable resignation of his crown into the hands of that monarch.

*Baliol's
submission
to Ed-
ward.*

¹ Buchanan.

Edward, having reduced the whole kingdom to a seeming state of tranquillity, returned with his army to the South; but not without carrying away, or destroying, every monument, literary as well as others, of the ancient independency of Scotland. Among these was a stone, to which the popular superstition of the Scots paid the highest veneration: all their kings were seated on it when they received the right of inauguration. An ancient tradition assured them, that, wherever this stone was placed, their nation should always govern; and it was therefore carefully preserved at Scone, as the palladium of their monarchy. Edward, having got possession of it, carried it with him to England. The great seal of Baliol was broken; and that prince himself was carried prisoner to London, and committed to custody in the Tower. Two years after he was restored to liberty, and submitted to a voluntary banishment in France; where, without making any farther attempts for the recovery of his royalty, he died in a private station. Earl Warrene was left governor of Scotland; Englishmen were entrusted with the chief offices; and Edward, flattering himself, that, by the numerous acts of fraud and violence which he had practised against Scotland, he had at last reduced that kingdom to irrecoverable subjection, returned with his victorious army into England^m.

Edward carries off the records of Scotland.

National animosities, and the insolence of victory, now conspired to render the English government intolerable to the Scots, who bore with the most indignant impatience a yoke, to which, from the earliest period of their monarchy, they had never before been accustomed. Warrene, retiring into England on account of his bad state of health, left the administration entirely in the hands of Ormesby, who was appointed justiciary of Scotland; and Cressingham, who held the office of treasurer. The former was a priest, and the latter a lawyer; but both of them tyrants, and they concurred in prosecuting, with the utmost severity, all the Scots who refused to swear fealty to Edward. With these ministers there remained a small military force, to secure their precarious authority.

The Scots greatly oppressed.

At this period arose William Wallace, a gentleman of a small fortune, but descended of an ancient family in the west of Scotland, whose courage prompted him to undertake the desperate attempt of delivering his native

First appearance of Wallace.

^m M. West. Heming.

country from the oppressive dominion of foreigners. He had been provoked by the insolence of an English officer to put him to death; and finding himself obnoxious on that account to the severity of the administration, he fled into the woods, where he offered himself as a leader to all those who had, from any cause, been reduced to the like necessity. Among those desperate fugitives he soon acquired that authority to which his various virtues, his heroic courage, his magnanimity, and his incredible patience, so justly entitled him. Beginning with small attempts, in which he was always successful, he gradually proceeded to more momentous enterprizes. By his knowledge of the country, he was enabled, when pursued, to ensure a refuge among the more sequestered or inaccessible retreats; whence issuing again, and collecting his dispersed associates, he unexpectedly appeared in another quarter, and surprised and put to the sword the unwary English.

*The Scots
take arms.*

Wallace, after several fortunate enterprizes, concerted the plan of attacking Ormesby at Scone, and of taking vengeance on him, for the numerous acts of violence and tyranny of which he had been guilty. The justiciary, apprised of his intentions, fled hastily into England, whither he was followed by all the other officers of that nation. The Scots immediately betook themselves to arms in every quarter, and prepared to defend that liberty which they had so unexpectedly recovered from the hands of their oppressors.

*Warrenne
enters
Scotland
with forty
thousand
men.*

But Warrenne, collecting an army of forty thousand men in the north of England, suddenly entered Annandale, and came up with the enemy at Irvine, before their forces were fully collected, and before they had put themselves in a posture of defence. Many of the Scottish nobles, alarmed with their dangerous situation, here submitted to the English, renewed their oaths of fealty, promised to deliver hostages for their good behaviour, and received a pardon for past offences. Others, who had not yet declared themselves, such as the steward of Scotland and the earl of Lenox, joined, though with reluctance, the English army; and waited a favourable opportunity for asserting the liberties of their country. But Wallace, at the head of his retainers, persevered in his purpose; and not being in a condition to give battle to the enemy, he marched northwards, with the design of maintaining the war in the mountainous and barren parts of the kingdom. When Warrenne advanced to Stirling, he found

Wallace

Wallace encamped at Cambuskenneth, on the opposite banks of the Forth; and being continually urged by Cressingham, who was actuated both by personal and national animosities against the Scots, he prepared to give the enemy battle. For this purpose he ordered his army to pass a bridge which lay over the Forth; but he was soon convinced, by fatal experience, of the error of his conduct. Wallace, after allowing such numbers of the English to pass as he thought proper, attacked them before they were fully formed, put them to the rout, pushed part of them into the river, others he destroyed with the sword, and obtained a complete victory. Among the slain was Cressingham, whose memory was so extremely odious to the Scots, that they flead his body, and made saddles and girths of his skin. Warrene, finding the remainder of his army greatly dispirited by this misfortune, was obliged again to evacuate the kingdom, and retire into Englandⁿ. The castles of Roxburgh and Berwick soon after fell into the hands of the Scots. Wallace, universally revered as the deliverer of his country, now received from the hands of his followers, the dignity of regent or guardian under the captive Baliol; and finding that the calamities of war, as well as unfavourable seasons, had produced a famine in Scotland, he urged his army to march into England, to subsist at the expence of the enemy, and to revenge all past injuries, by retaliating on that hostile nation. The Scots joyfully attended to his call. Wallace, breaking into the northern counties during the winter season, laid every place waste with fire and sword; and, having proceeded as far as the bishoprick of Durham, he returned, loaded with spoils, and crowned with glory, into his own country.

A.D. 1297.

Wallace obtains a complete victory over the English.

Wallace is chosen protector of Scotland.

He invades England.

Edward, who was at this time abroad, receiving intelligence of these events, and having already concluded a truce with France, now hastened over to England, to recover that important conquest, which he had always regarded as the chief glory and advantage of his reign. After his arrival he collected the whole military force of England, Wales, and Ireland; and marched with an army of near a hundred thousand men to the northern frontiers. Nothing could have enabled the Scots to resist so mighty a power, but an entire union among themselves; and this, however necessary in their present situation, was disturbed by factions, jealousies, and animosi-

A.D. 1298.

ⁿ Ford. Buchan.

ties, which broke out among the great. The elevation of Wallace, though purchased by such extraordinary services, was the object of envy to the nobility, who repined to see a private gentleman surpass them both in rank and reputation. Wallace, sensible of their discontent, and dreading the ruin of his country from those intestine divisions, voluntarily resigned his authority, retaining only the command over that body of his followers who refused to act under any other leader. The chief power now devolved on the steward of Scotland, and Cummin of Badenoch; who, collecting their forces from every quarter, fixed their station at Falkirk, where it was their intention to abide the assault of the English. Wallace was at the head of a third body, which acted under his command. The Scottish army placed their pikemen along their front; lined the spaces between the three bodies with archers; and knowing the great superiority of the English in cavalry, endeavoured to secure their front by palisadoes, tied together by ropes. In this disposition they expected the approach of the enemy.

July 22.
*Battle of
Falkirk.*

Edward, when he arrived in sight of the Scots, beheld them so inferior in numbers, that he hoped, by one decisive stroke, to determine the fortune of the war. Dividing his army also into three bodies, he led them on to the attack. The English archers, who began about this time to surpass those of other nations, first chased the Scottish bowmen off the field. The pouring in their arrows among the pikemen, who were cooped up within their entrenchments, threw them into disorder, and rendered the assault of the English pikemen and cavalry more easy and successful. The whole Scottish army was broken, and driven off the field with great slaughter. In this general rout; Wallace's military skill and presence of mind enabled him to keep his troops entire, and, retreating behind the Carron, he marched along the banks of that small river, which protected him from the enemy. Young Bruce, who had already given many proofs of his aspiring genius, but who served hitherto in the English army, appeared on the opposite banks, when, distinguishing the Scottish chief, he called out to him, and desired a short conference. He began with representing to Wallace the fruitless and ruinous enterprize in which he was engaged: he urged the unequal contest between a weak state, deprived of its head, and agitated by intestine discord, and a mighty nation, conducted by the ablest monarch of the age, and possessed of every resource for the support

*Conference
between
Bruce and
Wallace.*

support of the war. He endeavoured, upon the whole, to bend the inflexible spirit of the Scottish champion to submission under superior power; insinuating even that Wallace had secretly a view upon the crown. The answer of Wallace was that of a hero and a patriot. He warmly disclaimed his having any such ambitious thoughts, which, he said, he had neither a right nor an inclination to entertain; but reminded Bruce of his degeneracy and indolence, in not supporting his claim to the crown. "To you (said he), are owing the miseries of your country. You left her overwhelmed with woes, and I undertook the cause which you betrayed; a cause which I shall maintain as long as I breathe, while you live with ignominy, and court the chains of a foreign tyrant." The nobleness of these sentiments struck the generous mind of Bruce. He repented of his engagements with Edward, and, opening his eyes to the honourable path pointed out to him by Wallace, secretly resolved to seize the first opportunity to espouse the cause of his distressed country.

The English army, after reducing the southern provinces of Scotland, was obliged to retire for want of provisions; but, previous to his retreat, Edward proceeded in the most cruel manner against his Scottish prisoners, and all who disclaimed his authority. Performing homage or suffering death, was the only alternative he left to the wretched inhabitants. When he began his march southwards, Wallace and his friends hovered on his rear, and made severe reprisals upon numbers of the English who fell into their hands, so that Edward was forced, in order to regain Carlisle, to strike through the inhospitable forest of Selkirk.

*Edward
returns to
England.*

Cummin appears to have been now the legal governor of Scotland under Baliol, but the part he acted was pusillanimous. He pretended to hold his authority from the states; but he did nothing to assert their independency, though a favourable opportunity then presented, by the differences which had broke out afresh between Edward and his English nobility. The wisest measure which Cummin pursued was, his applying first to Philip de Valois, the king of France, and then to pope Boniface the VIIIth. for a truce in favour of Scotland. Edward's affairs on the continent of Europe, at that time, were in a very indifferent situation; and though Baliol was still his prisoner, yet the court of Rome treated him as a sovereign independent prince.

Edward, partly through the disaffection that continued to reign among his nobility, and partly for the convenience of curbing the Scots, passed the winter in the north of England. At Durham he called a great council of his nobility, in which he gave away to his own party the estates of the principal Scotsmen who followed either Cummin or Wallace².

The efforts of the Scots in recovering their liberty were so successful, that the English had been driven out of all the chief strong-holds of Scotland, except Edinburgh, Stirling, and Berwick. It is to be regretted that we now know little of Wallace, but that he was alive and at liberty. There is reason to believe, that he had by this time gone over to France, where, historians inform us, he was treated by Philip with the greatest respect and honour. His place was supplied, in the service of his country, by a nobleman of the name of Frazer, who acted as lieutenant-general to Cummin, the regent, while Edward, as usual, suspended all his great concerns to gratify his vengeance against the Scots. Under pretence of making good all the grants he had lately made of their estates (which he could not do without carrying his arms once more into that country), he summoned the militia of all England to meet him at Carlisle, on Whitsunday, 1299; but the conferences at Monstreuil then depending, he adjourned the meeting to the 1st of August following. Meantime he assembled his parliament at Westminster, and ordered public prayers to be put up in all the churches of England for a blessing on his arms against the Scots; and he practised all the arts of popularity, some of them even below the dignity of a king, to conciliate the affections of his subjects, which he had endangered by his arbitrary conduct. Edward, on account of his recent nuptials, did not attend the assembly of militia at Carlisle on the 1st of August; but he ordered a parliament to meet on the 11th of November, and, upon its rising, late as it was in the year, he put himself at the head of his army, and set out on his march to Scotland, to raise the siege of Stirling, which was then invested by the Scottish troops. Nothing but blind rage could have impelled Edward to such an attempt at that season. Experience had taught him how precarious his dependance was upon his fleet for provisions. The country through which he was to

A.D. 1299.

*Edward
marches
for Scot-
land;*

* Buch. Heming. Chron. Dun.

march

march was a desert, the roads impassible, and his enemies flushed with success, as well as united by oppression. He every day saw his army decrease, by his great barons withdrawing their followers from the expedition, until at last he became apprehensive of a total defection. Being therefore disabled to proceed, he was forced to sign an order for the governor of Stirling to give up that castle, upon no better terms than that of safety to the garrison.

but is unable to proceed.

Edward was now at Berwick, where he appointed John de St. John, one of the bravest and most experienced of his officers, to be his chief commissioner for the government of Scotland; and, returning to London about the beginning of February, 1300, he endeavoured, by concessions to his subjects, to soothe them into the measures which he was carrying on against Scotland. In May, he again set out for the North, having ordered his military tenants to attend him at York on Midsummer-day. Towards the end of June, he entered Scotland with a great army, which the regent was not able to oppose, took the castles of Lochmaben and Caerlaverock in Annandale, and continued his march into Galloway, where his party was received, and where he put all to the sword that resisted him. After an unsuccessful negotiation with the Cummins, he advanced to a river, which the Scottish historians called Swyne, and observed the Scots on the opposite banks. He sent a body of archers to dislodge them; and the Scots, unable to withstand the terrible discharge of arrows, retired. But Edward, apprehensive that their design was to draw his troops into an ambush, dispatched the earl of Warwick to stop the pursuit. The archers perceiving the earl advance, attended with some troops, and imagining he was come to support them, followed the Scots, and made a halt; so that the battle became general. This being observed by Edward, he sent his son, the prince of Wales, at the head of a chosen battalion, to support the earl and his archers, while himself advanced with the main body of the army. The Scots, who had not intended to stand a general engagement, were unable to sustain the shock; and, retiring to their woods and fastnesses, their loss of men was inconsiderable. The advantage gained by Edward was, however, of the greatest importance; as he might now march, without any opposition, to Stirling, the castle of which he immediately besieged. It was defended by William Oliphant, with great resolution, for three months. Edward at last declared, that he would hang every man of the garrison, if it was not

A D. 1300.

Edward again invades Scotland.

The Scots defeated by Edward,

who besieges the castle of Stirling.

not surrendered by a certain day. The place, therefore, being now destitute of provisions, Oliphant made an honourable capitulation, which Edward did not punctually observe ^a.

The Scots were, at this time, the less active in repairing their losses, because they were fed with hopes from the courts of France and Rome, that his holiness would soon oblige Edward to desist from his invasion. In fact, Boniface was so bent upon this object, that he charged the archbishop of Canterbury, as his extraordinary legate, to present, in person, to Edward a bull, which had, some time since, been framed for the purpose, but had hitherto lain dormant. The archbishop was also desired to communicate to Edward a special mandate, in which his holiness said, "That, for Sion's sake, he could not hold his peace, and for Jerusalem could not rest." The archbishop, after surmounting great difficulties on the road, reached Edward towards the end of August, and punctually executed his commission. Edward, having finished the reading of the bull, and the mandate, started to his feet, and exclaimed, "By the blood of God! for Sion's sake I will not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem I will not be at rest; for, while breath is in my nostrils, I will, to the utmost of my power, maintain my well-known rights."

Haughty, however, as Edward was, he dreaded a breach with the court of Rome, and, to prevent it, would have made any concession but that of relinquishing his claim to the crown of Scotland. Philip de Valois had this year sent two commissioners to conclude a truce between Edward and the community of Scotland. Edward, laying hold of this circumstance to prevent matters from coming to extremity with the pope, granted a truce from the Feast of All Saints that year to Whitsunday next year.

A.D. 1301.

Next year, Edward, still solicitous for reconciling the pope to his claim of the Scottish crown, sent his holiness a letter, which, for the ridiculous fiction it contains, may justly be regarded as a curiosity. He there endeavours to prove the superiority of England by historical facts, deduced from the time of Brutus, the Trojan, who, he said, founded the British monarchy in the age of Eli and Samuel. He supports his position by the various events which passed in the island before the arrival of the Romans; and, after laying great stress on the heroic victories of king Arthur, he vouchsafes at last to descend to the time of

^a Chron. Dun. Fordun.

Edward the Elder, with which, in his speech to the states of Scotland, he had thought proper to begin his claim of superiority. He asserts it to be a fact notorious, and confirmed by the records of antiquity, that the English monarchs had often conferred the kingdom of Scotland on their own subjects; had dethroned these vassal kings, when unfaithful to them; and had substituted others in their stead. He displays, with great solemnity, the complete homage which William had performed to Henry II. without mentioning the formal abolition of that extorted deed by king Richard, and the renunciation of all future claims of the same nature. Yet this paper he begins with a solemn appeal to the Almighty, the searcher of hearts, for his own firm persuasion of the justice of his claim; and no less than a hundred and four barons, assembled in parliament at Lincoln, concur, in maintaining before the pope, under their seals, the validity of these pretensions. They concluded, by desiring his holiness to give them no farther interruption in the possession of their just rights.

Upon the expiration of the truce, in 1301, the Scots retook the castle of Caerlaverock, and prepared to defend themselves against Edward, who was determined to renew the war with redoubled vigour. He ordered his army to enter Scotland by Carlisle and Berwick at the same time; one division of his troops being commanded by himself, and the other by his son, the prince of Wales. The issue of the campaign was far from answering Edward's sanguine expectations. He retook, indeed, the castle of Caerlaverock; but his convoys were cut off, and his soldiers harrassed on all sides. Arriving at Glasgow, he perceived some of his great men so much dissatisfied with his conduct, that they refused to undertake a negotiation for persuading the king of France to abandon the Scots; and he found himself, after visiting Dunipace, under a necessity to winter at Linlithgow, where he built a fortress, called the Pele. While he lay there, he received the mortifying news, that his plenipotentiaries in France had agreed with those of Philip to a new truce with the Scots; and, upon his return to London, he was met by agents from the pope, commanding him, in more peremptory terms than ever, to desist from persecuting the Scots, and to restore Baliol to his birth-right and family estates. But he was so far from complying with this injunction, that

*Continu-
ance of the
war.*

he ordered his governor of Berwick to take upon him the title of guardian of Scotland, and to be in readiness to act against the rebels there, as soon as the truce was expired. He gave Baliol's English estates to his nephew, the duke of Bretagne; and he sent over writs to Ireland, commanding his subjects there likewise to invade Scotland, upon the expiration of the truce.

A.D. 1303.

Three English armies defeated by the Scots in one day.

Edward's views on Scotland were now favoured by the conduct of the French king, who sacrificed the cause of the Scots to his own convenience. The English king had early foreseen this event, and taken his measures accordingly. He had sent orders to Segrave, his commander in the North, to assemble thirty thousand of his best troops, which that general soon did, and extended his quarters into Scotland before the expiration of the truce; but divided his army into three bodies, probably for the sake of subsistence. The Scots justly considered these motions as a breach of the truce; and Cummin, the guardian, with sir Simon Frazer, ordered a rendezvous of their troops, which amounted to no more than ten thousand men, at Biggar. The first division of the English lay about sixteen miles distant, at Roslin, which is situated five miles south-west of Edinburgh, and was commanded by Segrave himself. The two remaining divisions were commanded, one by Segrave's brother, and the other by sir Robert Neville; but all of them behaved towards the Scots as declared enemies, by desolating the country. While the English lived at once in a state of rapine and security, Cummin and Frazer resolved to surprise that division which lay at Roslin under Segrave. They began their march in the night, and reached Segrave by break of day. Notwithstanding the privacy of the expedition, and the suddenness of the attack, Segrave had time to have fallen back upon the second division of his own army; but, either thinking that he would be dishonoured by a retreat, or holding his enemies in contempt, he stood to his arms, and was charged with so much resolution, that himself was made prisoner, while all his men, except such as either threw down their arms, or saved themselves by flying to their second division, were cut in pieces. While the Scots were dividing the spoils, another army of the English appeared in view. The Scots, flushed with victory, and unwilling to relinquish either the glory or the booty they had acquired, engaged this fresh army, though not without a bloody dispute, which gave time for the third, and most powerful division of the English to advance.

vance, under Neville. Many of the Scots had fallen in the two preceding actions; most of them were wounded, and all of them extremely fatigued by the long continuance of the combat: yet they were so transported with success and military rage, that, having suddenly recovered their order, and arming the followers of the camp with the spoils of the slaughtered enemy, they drove with fury upon the ranks of the dismayed English. The favourable moment decided the battle; which the Scots, had they met with a steady resistance, would not long have been able to maintain. The English were chased off the field; and thus three signal victories were gained in one day. The renown of these exploits, seconded by the favourable dispositions of the people, soon made the regent master of all the fortresses in the South; and it became necessary for Edward to begin anew the conquest of the kingdom^P.

Edward prepared himself for this enterprize with his usual vigour. He assembled a great armament both by sea and land; and, entering the frontiers of Scotland, appeared with a force which the enemy could entertain no hope of resisting in the open field. The English navy, which sailed along the coast, securing the army from any danger of famine, they marched victorious from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, ravaging the open country, reducing all the castles, and receiving the submissions of the nobility, even those of Cummin, the regent. The most obstinate resistance was made by the castle of Brechin, defended by sir Thomas Maule; and the place opened not its gates, until the death of the governor, by discouraging the garrison, obliged them to submit to the fate which had overwhelmed the rest of the kingdom. Wallace, though he followed the English army in their march, found but few opportunities of signaling that valour which had formerly made him so terrible to his enemies.

Edward enters Scotland with a great army.

His great successes.

Edward, having completed his conquest, which employed him during the space of almost two years, now undertook the more difficult work of settling the country, and of making the acquisition durable to the crown of England. He seems to have carried matters to extremity against the natives. He abrogated all the Scottish laws and customs, endeavouring to substitute the English in their place. He entirely razed or destroyed all the monuments of antiquity. Such records or histories as had

escaped his former search were now burnt or dispersed : and he hastened, by too precipitate steps, to abolish the Scottish name, and to sink it finally in the English.

A.D. 1305.

*Wallace is
betrayed,
and exe-
cuted.*

Edward, however, still deemed his possession of Scotland exposed to some danger so long as Wallace was alive ; and, being prompted both by revenge and policy, he employed every art to discover his retreat, and become master of his person. After the publication of the pardon, which had been issued by Edward, this hardy warrior seems to have been deserted by all his followers excepting a few, with whom he wandered from place to place, until at last he came to Glasgow, where he was betrayed by Edward's new favourite, sir John Monteith, of whose apostacy Wallace was probably ignorant. This man, though formerly his friend, basely delivered him up to Aymer de Valence, the English governor in those parts, who sent him prisoner to London. The roads, through which he passed, were lined with spectators, who now beheld, with admiration, the man who had often filled them with terror and dismay. Upon his arrival in London, he was tried as a rebel and traitor, though he had never made submission, or sworn fealty, to England. His defence was strong and magnanimous, but was over-ruled ; and he was condemned to suffer the death of a traitor, according to the English law ; which sentence, to the indelible infamy of Edward, was inflicted upon him, and portions of his body were dispersed through different cities of Scotland and England. This was the unworthy fate of a hero, who, through a course of many years, had, with signal conduct, intrepidity, and perseverance, defended, against a public and oppressive enemy, the liberties of his native country.

This barbarous policy of Edward only served to enrage the Scots at his injustice and cruelty. The people, inflamed with resentment, were every where disposed to rise against the English government ; and it was not long before a new and more fortunate leader presented himself, who conducted them to liberty and vengeance.

A.D. 1306.

*Robert
Bruce.*

Robert Bruce, grand-son of that Robert who had been one of the competitors for the crown, had succeeded by his grandfather's and father's death, to all their rights ; and the demise of John Baliol, with the captivity of Edward, eldest son of that prince, seemed to open a full career to the genius and ambition of this young nobleman.

He hoped that the Scots, so long exposed, from the want of a leader, to the oppressions of their enemies, would unanimously flock to his standard, and would seat him on the vacant throne, to which he had so plausible pretensions. According to the Scottish historians, Bruce, who had long harboured in his breast the design of freeing his enslaved country, ventured at last to open his mind to John Cummin, a powerful nobleman, with whom he lived in strict intimacy. He found his friend's sentiments, as he imagined, conformable to his own; and Cummin entered, or seemed to enter, into a compromise with Bruce, by which he agreed to give the latter his utmost assistance in placing him on the throne, provided that, when the event took place, himself should be put in possession of all Bruce's private estate. Cummin, whether from a design he had originally formed of betraying Bruce, or from his reflecting on the dangerous step he had taken, dispatched to Edward the result of their conferences. Bruce, on parting with Cummin, went to the English court, to secure his interest with some of the Scottish lords who were about Edward's person. Edward did not immediately commit Bruce to custody; because he intended, at the same time, to seize his three brothers, who resided in Scotland; and he contented himself with secretly setting spies upon him. A nobleman of Edward's court, Bruce's intimate friend, was apprized of his danger; but not daring, amidst so many jealous eyes, to hold any conversation with him, he contrived an expedient to give him warning, that it was full time he should make his escape. He sent him, by a servant, a pair of gilt spurs and a purse of gold, which he pretended to have borrowed from him; leaving it to the sagacity of his friend to discover the meaning of the present. Bruce, rightly interpreting this mystic message, immediately procured horses, set out for the North, and in seven days reached the castle of Lochmaben, in Annandale. It has been generally said, that he escaped in the winter, when the ground was covered with snow; and that he caused his horses to be shod backwards, to prevent a pursuit.

His engagements with Cummin.

His narrow escape from London.

When Bruce arrived at Lochmaben, he there found the few friends whom he had entrusted with his design of assuming the crown. On laying before them the treachery of Cummin, it was determined, that he should begin his reign by an act of necessary justice, which was the putting Cummin to death. They therefore resolved to go

He kills Cummin.

made prisoners, were ordered by Edward to
as rebels and traitors.

A.D. 1307. Edward, who was at this time compromised
ferences with his English subjects, again
often baffled resolution of finally subduing
inhabitants of which he deemed unaltera
aversion to his government. He declared his
once more heading an expedition in person;
soon after assembled a great army, he was
Death of enter the frontiers, when he unexpectedly
Edward. died near Carlisle; enjoining, with his last b

and successor to prosecute the enterprize, and never to desist until he had finally subdued the kingdom of Scotland *.

Meantime Bruce, since his late defeat, had begun to resume his military operations in the western parts of Scotland; and his party, which derived fresh spirits from the news of Edward's death, was every day increasing. He had by this time reduced the western counties; and his friend, the brave earl of Douglas, had made great progress in the South. But the strength of his enemies lay in the North, where he had likewise many friends. Having appointed Douglas his lieutenant south of the Forth, himself set out for the North, where several powerful barons were collecting numerous fortes to oppose him. The fatigues of his march were so excessive, that he fell ill, and was carried to the castle of Slenath, then a place of some strength. Here he was soon besieged by the lords of the Cummin party, but so bravely defended by his followers, that the assailants, after continuing the attack four days, were forced to retire with great loss. Notwithstanding his indisposition, his party every day increased; and, by the activity of his brother Edward, gained several advantages over the enemy. At length, himself again took the field; and, marching towards Old Meldrum, attacked his enemies so briskly, that he obtained a complete victory. The earl of Buchan and Moubray fled towards England; and the lord of Brechin shut himself up in his own castle, which was immediately besieged by the earl of Athol, the son of that earl who had been put to death by Edward. Bruce, having now become master of Inverness, and all the parts north of the Caerney-Month, determined to march towards the Merns, Angus, and Perthshire. The castle of Forfar, which was held by an English garrison, was surprised and demolished by sir Philip Frazer. The town of Perth, however, which was defended by the Methvens and the Oliphants, under the earl of Strathern, made an obstinate resistance. The siege continued six weeks; but at last, by feigning a retreat, Bruce made himself master of the place, and ordered its fortifications to be destroyed *.

Bruce obtains a victory.

Edward II. was too much employed in festivities, upon his accession to the crown, to execute his father's plans with the vigour and rapidity they required. His conduct was so dilatory, that sir Edward Bruce, who had been

Edward's inconsiderate conduct

* Heming. M. West.

* Buchan.

sent by his brother into Galloway, defeated Umfreville in that quarter. This English general was at the head of twelve hundred men, and ordered a red bonnet to be carried before him on a pole, wherever he went, in token of his authority over the Scots. The terror of the English power being abated by these successes, the Scots now began to entertain hopes of obtaining their independence; and the whole kingdom, except a few fortresses, which he had not the means to attack, had acknowledged the authority of Robert.

A.D. 1312.

In this situation, Edward found it necessary to grant a truce to Scotland; and Robert successfully employed the interval in consolidating his power, and introducing order into the civil government, which had been disjoined by a long continuance of wars and factions. The truce, however, was short, and ill observed on both sides. Robert, not content with establishing his authority in his own kingdom, had made successful inroads into England, and subsisted his needy followers by the plunder of that country. Edward, at last, roused from his inactivity, had marched an army into Scotland; and Robert, unwilling to hazard a battle with an enemy so much superior, retired again into the mountains. Edward advanced beyond Edinburgh; but being destitute of provisions, and being ill supported by the English nobility, was soon obliged to retreat, without gaining any advantage over the enemy. But the discontents in England being abated by the death of Gaveston, the kingdom seemed to recover its former union and force, and a prospect was again opened of attempting the conquest of Scotland; an object in which both the interests and passions of the nation were so deeply engaged.

A.D. 1313.

*Edward
prepares to
invade
Scotland.*

For accomplishing this important enterprize, Edward assembled forces from all quarters. He summoned the most warlike of his vassals from Gascony; he enlisted troops from Flanders and other foreign countries; he invited over great numbers of disorderly Irish as to a certain prey; and he joined to them a body of Welch, who were actuated by like motives. But above all, he assembled the whole military force of England, and marched to the frontiers with an army, which, according to the Scottish writers, amounted to a hundred thousand men^t.

The army, collected by Robert, exceeded not thirty thousand combatants; but they were men who had distinguished themselves by many acts of valour, and were

^t Ford. Chron. Mel. Buch.

rendered desperate by their situation. He had chosen an encampment on the banks of a rivulet called Bannock-burn, near Stirling. That castle, which, with Berwick, was the only fortress in Scotland, that remained in the hands of the English, had long been besieged by the Scots; and as the capitulation was now almost expired, Edward was resolved to risk every thing, that he might relieve it. Robert, therefore, sensible that here was the ground on which he must expect the English, chose the field of battle with all the skill and prudence imaginable. He had a hill on his right flank, and a morass on his left. Along the banks of the rivulet, which lay in his front, he commanded deep pits to be dug, and sharp stakes to be planted in them; and he ordered the whole to be carefully covered over with turf. The English arrived in sight on the evening, and a bloody conflict immediately ensued between two bodies of cavalry. In this action, Robert, who was at the head of the Scots, engaged in single combat with Henry de Bohun, a gentleman of the family of Hereford; and at one stroke cleft his adversary to the chin with a battle-axe, in sight of the two armies. The English horse fled with precipitation to their main body; and the Scots, from this favourable event, prognosticated a happy issue to the combat on the ensuing day.

Early in the morning, Edward drew out his army, and advanced towards the Scots. The earl of Gloucester, his nephew, who commanded the left wing of the cavalry, impelled by the ardour of youth, rushed on to the attack without precaution, and fell among the covered pits, which had been prepared by Bruce for the reception of the enemy. This body of horse was disordered, and Gloucester himself was overthrown and slain; while sir James Douglas, who commanded the Scottish cavalry, gave the enemy no leisure to rally, but pushed them off the field with considerable loss, and pursued them in sight of their whole line of infantry. The English were not more alarmed at this disaster than at the sight of an army on the heights towards the left, and which seemed to be marching deliberately in order to surround them. This was a number of waggoners and sumpter-boys, whom Robert had collected; and having supplied them with military standards, gave them the appearance at a distance of a formidable body. The effect of the stratagem was such, that a panic immediately seized the English, and they took to a precipitate flight. They were pursued with great slaughter, for the space of ninety miles, until they reached

A.D. 1314.

25th June.
*Battle of
Bannock-
burn.*

Berwick. The king himself narrowly escaped by taking shelter in Dunbar, the gates of which were opened to him by the earl of March, who had always been in the interest of the English. Edward thence passed by sea to Berwick.

*Robert in-
vades Eng-
land.*

This victory, which decided the independence of Scotland, may be considered as the most glorious, that, since the Conquest, had ever been obtained over the English; and it made so deep an impression upon their minds, that, for some years, no superiority of numbers could engage them to keep the field against the Scots. Robert, in order to avail himself of his present success, entered England, and ravaged all the northern counties without opposition. He besieged Carlisle; but that place was saved by the valour of sir Andrew Harcla, the governor. He was, however, more successful against Berwick, which he took by assault.

A.D. 1315.

*The Scots
invade
Ireland.*

Robert, elated by his prosperity, now began to entertain a design of the most important conquests on the English. He sent over his brother Edward, with an army of six thousand men, into Ireland; and himself followed soon after with more numerous forces. The great oppressions which the Irish suffered under the English government, made them, at first, fly to the standard of the Scots, whom they regarded as their deliverers. But a grievous famine, which at that time desolated both Ireland and Britain, reduced the Scottish army to the greatest extremities; and Robert was obliged to return, with his forces much diminished, into his own country. His brother Edward, after having experienced a variety of fortune, was defeated and slain near Dundalk, by the English, commanded by lord Bermingham.

A.D. 1317.

During Robert's absence in Ireland, Edward, whose government grew every day more despicable, was encouraged to make a fresh attempt upon Scotland. But, though he issued out writs, commanding his military tenants to assemble for this purpose, his summonses appear to have been disregarded. His fleet, however, landed a body of men in the frith of Forth, where they were defeated by Sinclair, bishop of Dunkeld, with the earl of Fife, and others.

A kind of cessation of arms now took place, owing merely to Edward's inability to carry on the war, though he pretended that his moderation was owing to a papal bull, which he had lately received. The cardinals St. Massarin and St. Mary were then in England, charged with

with a mediation between the two crowns ; and Edward, to render it the more effectual, promised his holiness, that as soon as he could get any respite from war, he would undertake a crusade. This flattered the court of Rome so much, that the pope threw his weight entirely into Edward's scale ; and in the subsequent bulls which he sent over, he gave Robert no other title than that of the person acting as king in Scotland. This bull was rejected by Robert's ministers as inadmissible ; and Edward found means to hire, from the Genoese, five armed galleys to act against the Scots. There was not then in Europe a people who would have ventured to treat the papal power with so much contempt as the Scots did. The legates, though armed with the thunders of the Vatican, durst not venture to enter Scotland ; and finding all advances to a treaty prove ineffectual, they sought permission from Robert to send two agents to treat with him in person, but in private characters. To this proposal Robert agreed ; and they entering Scotland by different ways, he received them with great politeness. Understanding that they came to treat of a peace, he expressed a readiness to enter upon so desirable a negociation ; and the agents produced two sets of letters, one sealed from the legates, but addressed to Robert Bruce, governor of Scotland ; which Robert threw back unopened to the agents, with the utmost disdain. Another letter from the pope was opened and read ; but Robert referred, for an answer, to his ministers. These treated the agents, one of whom was a bishop, with great roughness ; and it appears from their conversation, that a special messenger sent by the pope to acquaint the Scottish clergy of his accession to the pontifical throne, had been for three months upon the borders, without daring to enter the kingdom, on account of the ceremonial towards his master. When the bishop entreated Robert to send a safe-conduct to this messenger, he received no other answer than a scornful smile. He then began to apologize for his master's conduct, by alleging that his not giving Robert the title of king, was owing to his tenderness for the rights of the king of England ; but that he should receive full satisfaction as soon as the dispute between him and Edward was settled. He added, that the legates had full power for that purpose ; and that a peace was necessary to Christendom, as the Holy Land had been lost by the divisions that prevailed in Europe. After the legates had used their utmost efforts to bring Robert to agree to a truce for two years, which had

been accepted by Edward, and proclaimed in England, he, with his usual firmness, rejected their application, alleging that he would do nothing without the advice of his parliament.

Robert ex-communicated.

The legates perceiving by the report of their agents, that the negotiation with Robert was at an end, produced a bull of excommunication against him; but before they would execute it, they dispatched one Adam Newton, a friar and a hot-headed zealot, to publish the truce in Scotland, where, if it was not received, he was to declare Robert and his kingdom to be excommunicated. The Scottish army was at this time lying upon the borders, whence they made daily inroads into the north of England. Robert's head-quarters were at Old-Camus, where, notwithstanding it was now the depth of winter, he was continuing his preparations for the siege of Berwick. Upon Newton's arrival in the camp, he was refused admittance to Robert; but the king's ministers forced him to shew his credentials, which, with the pope's bull, they returned with great contempt, because they were not addressed to Robert as a sovereign prince. Newton, however, had the courage, (if we are to believe his own account) to proclaim the truce, and the sentence of excommunication in the Scottish army.

A.D. 1318.

He takes Berwick.

Robert, having completed his preparations, sat down before Berwick, which in a short time he obliged to surrender. The booty which he made by this conquest, was greater than any he had ever before acquired at one time. For the place, by its situation, and the strength of the fortifications, being deemed impregnable, it was a kind of repository for the effects not only of many of the English, but of all their party in Scotland, where it still was numerous.

The miserable state of Edward's government, after the reduction of Berwick, called upon his English subjects to provide for their own safety; and therefore, in the beginning of the next year, they seem to have forgot all the causes of discontent which he had given them, and resolved to unite in retrieving their national character against the Scots. Robert, meantime, took the castles of Wark, Harbottle, and Middiford; and no place of all Northumberland, except Newcastle, held out against him. The progress of his arms was so rapid, that he penetrated to

u Buchanan.

the

the very gates of York, where the queen of England narrowly escaped falling into his hands.

These misfortunes did not prevent Edward from making great preparations for retaking Berwick. He raised all his military tenants in Wales; he assembled a considerable fleet, and about the middle of August he invested the town with a great army by sea and land. The place was defended by Crab, under the high-steward of Scotland; but assaulted with great courage, skill, and perseverance, by Edward and his foreign engineers. Edward being so well posted, that Robert could make no impression on his camp, the only measure that remained was to make a diversion, by renewing the inroads into England. The command of this expedition was given to the earl of Murray and the lord Douglas, who were so successful, that they carried their depredations first to Boroughbridge, and then to Milton, within ten miles of York; and were preparing to besiege that city, when they were opposed by an army of ten thousand men, under the archbishop, William de Melton. This prelate, despising the number of the Scots, attacked them near the river Swale; but the half of his army was put to the rout, with hardly any loss to the Scots. The number of the English priests and ecclesiastics who appeared, gave, their surplices, and were killed in this engagement, or drowned in the Swale, was so great, that the Scots gave it the name of the White Battle *.

A.D. 1319

*Edward
besieges
Berwick.*

Edward was all this while pressing the siege of Berwick with so much fury, that he was in daily hopes of carrying the place. He had constructed a most enormous machine, which overtopped the walls; but it was destroyed by Crab, though the town, at the same time, was assaulted from the English shipping. The earl of Lancaster and the northern barons pressed the king to raise the siege, that he might oppose the devastation of the Scots in their estates; and Edward, at last, upon receiving intelligence of the defeat of the archbishop, came to that resolution. His intention was to intercept the Scots while they were encumbered with plunder; but they, foreseeing his design, avoided his army by bye-roads, and reached Scotland with their booty. Before the end of the year, they renewed their incursions, penetrated as far as Borough under Stanmore, and carried their devastations through Westmoreland and Cumberland. The king of

* Buch. Chron. Dun.

*A truce
concluded.*

England; being now desirous of some respite from war, granted a safe-conduct for twelve Scottish commissioners to treat of a truce at Newcastle, on the 6th of December; when a cessation of hostilities for two years was accordingly concluded.

Robert now convened his nobility at Aberbrothwick, where he laid before them the state of his differences with the holy see. He found them disposed as he could wish; unwilling to provoke his holiness by a total disavowal of his authority, but resolved to maintain their own independence, and their king's sovereignty. In confirmation of these sentiments, they wrote the pope a letter, which operated so strongly as to produce, at the court of Rome, an alteration of its conduct towards Robert. The pope found that he should expose his authority to contempt, by issuing any more bulls, mandates, or anathemas, against the people of Scotland; and therefore, to extricate himself from this difficulty, he applied to Edward, by a bull, to make peace with Robert in the best manner he could. Edward, fond of seizing an opportunity of showing his devotion to the holy see, immediately appointed the archbishop of York, and other commissioners to negotiate a definitive treaty with Robert; but by the distractions in England, the negotiation was soon broke off.

A D. 1322.

*Robert
invades
England.*

The truce, however, being expired, Edward, who was now freed from all domestic insurrections, once more resumed his preparations to invade Scotland; on which he was so intent, that he sent to his French dominions for a number of slingers and pikemen. His parliament seconded his intentions, by granting him extraordinary supplies; but advised him to put off his expedition to the end of July, when he was to be attended by all his military tenants. This delay proved favourable to Robert, who, before the expiration of the truce, had an army on the borders ready to enter England. He accordingly, by the way of Carlisle, penetrated eighty miles on the side of Lancashire; and being joined by his two generals, Murray and Douglas, returned to Scotland before he could be opposed by Edward. The latter entered Scotland, as usual, with a small armament; but he found the country so much impoverished by the precautions which Robert and his generals had taken, that he was forced to depend upon his fleet for the subsistence of his army. Though he met no troops in the field to oppose him, yet he proceeded with inexpressible fury. The monasteries of Melros and Dryburgh were burnt, and even their aged inhabitants

*Edward
invades
Scotland.*

bitants put to the sword. Having advanced as far as Edinburgh, his supplies from his fleet failed; and he therefore found himself under the necessity of returning southwards. Robert, who observed his motions, followed him with a body of chosen troops, cut off all his convoys and stragglers, and routed his army near the abbey of Byland, in the neighbourhood of Malton. In this battle, which seems rather to have been a surprize than a regular engagement, the earl of Richmond was taken; and Edward, after losing all his plate, money, and baggage, was pursued to the very gates of York, where he narrowly escaped being made prisoner. Robert, after burning the town of Rippon, and obliging that of Beverley to pay him four hundred pounds contribution money, returned to his own dominions¹.

and is pursued into England by Robert.

Robert, now broken with fatigues, was become desirous of a treaty, which might ensure peace to his dominions, and to the son that had lately been born to him; and accordingly a truce, for thirteen years, was concluded upon the following terms: "That all matters which should happen in debate between the subjects of the two crowns, should be settled by the wardens of the Marches: that all forts and fortresses, on the frontiers of both kingdoms, should remain in their present situation: that the wardens of the Marches should grant safe-conducts for free communications: that each nation should shelter and assist the ships of the other, when driven into its ports by stress of weather; and that neither should make any advantage of the wrecks, but restore all that should be saved to the respective owners."

A.D. 1323.

A truce.

About this time a conspiracy was formed against Robert, of the particulars of which we know little more than that William, lord Soules, was at the head of it. The other chief conspirators were, sir David, called the Brechin, and who went by the name of The Flower of Chivalry, Gilbert Malyerd, John of Logie, and Richard Brown. The plot was discovered to Robert by a lady (probably the countess of Strathern), and Soules was arrested at Berwick, whence he was carried to Dumbarton. In a parliament held at Scone, Soules, who we are told had three hundred and sixty followers in livery, besides eighteen knights, with the countess of Strathern, who had made terms both for him and herself, were convicted and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, in which Soules

Conspiracy against Robert.

¹ Chron. Dun.

died.

A.D. 1327.

*War again
breaks out
between
the Scots
and Eng-
lish.*

died. The other conspirators were hanged, and quartered by horses.

The deposition of Edward II. proved the means of involving the two neighbouring nations again in the calamities of war. Robert, who, it is probable, disapproved of that transaction, considered himself as no longer bound to observe the terms of the late truce; and, during the life-time of that prince, he refused to acknowledge his son as lawful king. Robert had for some time foreseen the event; and at the period of the younger Edward's accession, he had a strong body of troops lying on the borders, and immediately upon receiving intelligence of the elder Edward's resignation, they invaded England. Their first object was the retaking of Norham Castle, which had fallen into the hands of the English; but in this they failed, through the vigilance of sir Robert Manners, the governor. The Scottish army was commanded, as usual, by those brave generals, the earl of Murray, and the lord Douglas. That of the English, which was greatly superior in number, rendezvoused at York. Edward was full of spirits, but young and inexperienced. His army was encumbered with great quantities of baggage; and he found it impracticable to bring the Scots to an engagement, though the two armies were often in sight of each other. He, at last, formed the resolution to disencumber his troops of all their heavy carriages, and to follow the Scots by the smoke of the fires, with which they laid waste the country. Even this expedient proving unsuccessful, it was determined, in Edward's council, to pass the Tyne, and to carry the war into Scotland. The waters of the river had risen so much, that Edward's infantry could not pass it; and were therefore in great want of provisions. Nor was this the only disappointment. Edward could procure no intelligence of the enemy; and thought proper to offer a hundred pounds a-year in land, to any who could discover them.*

The English army being still divided by the river, Edward at last resolved to repass it, about seven miles lower, that he might take quarters in the fertile bishoprick of Durham. This was not effected without prodigious difficulties, and the loss of a great number of the cavalry. The Scottish army had made an Englishman, one Thomas Rokesby, a prisoner; and he informing them, that it was in their power to enrich him with a hundred pounds

* Ford. Buch.

a-year in land, they magnanimously set him at liberty. On his arriving in the English camp, and making the discovery, Edward not only gave him the reward, but knighted him in the sight of his army. The Scots, at this time, entertained so little apprehension of the enemy, that their camp was only about three miles distant, upon a rising ground, with the river Ware in its front. Edward gave orders to form the line of battle, and was advancing with a resolution to pass the river, when he saw the Scots leave the rising ground, and form such a disposition on the banks of the river, as to render his passing it impracticable. His situation exasperated him so much, that he sent a defiance, as was the custom of those times, to the enemy; offering to retire, and leave them at liberty to pass the river; and promising to fight them, if they would comply with the same condition on their part. The bold spirit of Douglas could ill brook this bravado, and he advised the acceptance of the challenge; but it was overruled by Murray, who replied to Edward, that he never took the counsel of an enemy in any of his operations. The king, therefore, still kept his position opposite to the Scots; and daily expected, that necessity would oblige them to change their quarters, and give him an opportunity of overwhelming them with his superior numbers. After a few days, they suddenly decamped, and marched farther up the river; but still posted themselves in such a manner, as to preserve the advantage of the ground, if the enemy should venture to attack them. While the armies lay in this position, an incident happened which had well nigh proved fatal to the English. Douglas, having got the word, and surveyed exactly the situation of the English camp, entered it secretly in the night-time, with a body of two hundred determined soldiers, and advanced to the royal tent, with a view of killing or carrying off the king, in the midst of his army. But some of Edward's attendants, awaking in that critical moment, made resistance; his chaplain and chamberlain sacrificed their lives for his safety; and the king himself, after making a valorous defence, escaped in the dark; while Douglas, who had lost the greater part of his followers, was glad to make a hasty retreat with the remainder. Soon after, the Scottish army decamped without noise in the night; and having thus gotten the start of the English, arrived without farther loss in their own country. Edward returned to Durham, whence he marched with his army to York.

*Bold attempt of
lord
Douglas.*

*Terms of
peace.*

A.D. 1328.

*The prince
of Scotland
married to
the princess
Joan of
England.*

The queen-mother and her party had been all along disposed to a peace with the Scots; and a little before the late expedition, the archbishop of York, and several other English noblemen, were appointed commissioners for that purpose. We are told, that a hundred deputies from Scotland attended at the same time, and were furnished with safe-conducts for their return. This treaty was adjourned from Newcastle to York, there to be finished. The queen and her party, having Edward in their power, carried all before them; and as the first proof of their attachment to the Scots, a charter was published by Edward, renouncing, in the most explicit terms, all pretensions to the superiority of that kingdom. A peace was, at the same time, concluded between the two nations. The terms were, that David the prince of Scotland, though no more than five years old, should be contracted to the princess Joan, nearly of the same age, and sister to Edward the Third. Robert was to pay twenty thousand marks in consideration of the damages which the English had sustained from his army during the preceding year: all grants of lands to Englishmen in Scotland, unless they resided there, were to be void: the crown of Scotland renounced all pretensions to Cumberland, Northumberland, and other places which it held in England: the Scottish regalia and crown-jewels were to be returned; and all the evidences of the dependency of Scotland upon England were deemed to be void and of no effect. Four years were allowed for the execution of this treaty; which probably was the reason why the surrender of the charters, and the evidences of the Scottish dependency, never were performed. The article concerning the marriage, however, was carried into immediate execution; for on the 17th of July, David, prince of Scotland, espoused Joan, in the presence of her mother, and a numerous assembly of both nations, which expressed extraordinary marks of joy upon the occasion.

Robert, from the great fatigues he had undergone in his youth, was now affected with a universal rheumatism, which, according to some, was attended with a leprosy, and disabled him from being present at his son's marriage, the care of which he committed to the earl of Murray and lord Douglas. He recovered, however, so well after the marriage, that he received his son and daughter-in-law, and ordered a parliament to meet at Perth, in order to confirm the succession of the crown to his son David and his

his heirs; and, failing them, to his grandson, the great steward of Scotland; all which was accordingly done.

This was the last public scene of Robert's life. Finding death approach, he ordered himself to be carried to his castle of Cardross, lying on the western side of the river Leven. Here, in his last hours, he summoned his chief officers of war and state to attend him in his bed-chamber, to receive his dying commands. These were, that in case of a war with England, they should by all means avoid a general engagement, but to harass the enemy by frequent skirmishes, or sudden attacks; and never to make a peace or truce with England that was to last above three or four years, lest the people should be enervated by the disuse of arms. He then, in the manner of the times, told them, that as he often purposed to visit the Holy Land, he was greatly desirous his heart should be carried thither. His last request was, that they would never give the government of the Western Isles to one person. He expired in a few hours after, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign; universally acknowledged to have been one of the bravest and wisest princes that ever swayed the sceptre of Scotland.

*Robert's
political
testament.*

A D. 1329.

June 11.
His death.

David II. at his accession to the crown, was little more than five years of age. The first attention of his guardian, Thomas Randolph, the earl of Murray, was to continue to the nation the tranquillity it enjoyed. This could not be effected without the severest exercise of justice. The common people had been habituated to pillage, and every predatory practice; and having now no war with England, they committed great outrages on one another. The maxims which Randolph introduced to repress their violence, have been partly adopted by later times in Great Britain; for he made the counties liable for the several robberies committed within their lands. He even ordered the farmers and labourers not to house, during the night-time, the implements which they used in agriculture, that the sheriffs officers might be more vigilant in preventing their being stolen. He gave orders for severely punishing all vagabonds, and obliged them to work for their livelihood; making proclamation, that no man should be admitted into a town or borough, who could not earn his bread by his labour. These regulations were productive of the most salutary effects.

*David II.
Randolph
regent.*

A.D. 1332.

*His death.**The earl of Mar is chosen re-
gent.**Grounds of
a new war
with Eng-
land.*

Unhappily for Scotland, she enjoyed but a short time the prudent administration of this excellent regent, who died at Muffelburgh, on the 20th of July, 1332, universally regretted. Upon the death of this great man, the Scottish parliament assembled at Perth, and after various debates; Donald, earl of Mar, was chosen to succeed him. But before the new regent could exhibit any proof of his capacity for government, a scene unfolded, which overturned all the glorious labours of the late king.

Edward Baliol, the son of that John, who was crowned king of Scotland, had been detained some time a prisoner in England after his father was released; but having also obtained his liberty, he went over to France, and resided in Normandy, on his patrimonial estate, without any thoughts of reviving the claims of his family to the crown of Scotland. His pretensions, however plausible, had been so strenuously abjured by the Scots, and rejected by the English, that he was universally regarded as a private person: and he had been thrown into prison on account of some private offence, of which he was accused. Lord Beaumont, a great English baron, who, in the right of his wife, claimed the earldom of Buchan in Scotland, found him in this situation; and deeming him a proper instrument for his purpose, made such interest with the king of France, who was not aware of the consequences, that Baliol recovered his liberty, and coming over to England with Beaumont, avowed his pretensions to the Scottish crown. Edward acted, on this occasion, the part of a consummate politician. He had, for some time, secretly disliked the treaty of Northampton; though he always declared, that he was resolved to observe it during the continuance of the truce. Notwithstanding this declaration, Baliol and lord Beaumont, with his privity, and perhaps his money, were hiring foreign troops; and towards the end of the year, no fewer than forty-four German officers, each at the head of a small company, made their appearance in London. Baliol now declared his intention of reclaiming his father's dominions, implored Edward's assistance, and offered to hold the crown of Scotland of him, in the same manner as his father had held it of Edward the First.

Several reasons, however, deterred Edward from openly avowing this enterprize. In his treaty with Scotland, he had entered into a bond of twenty thousand pounds, payable to the pope, if within four years he violated the peace;

peace; and as the term was not yet elapsed, he dreaded the exacting of that penalty by the sovereign pontiff, who possessed so many means of forcing princes to make payment. He was also afraid of the imputation of violence and injustice, if he attacked with superior force a minor king, and a brother-in-law, whose independent title had been so lately acknowledged by a solemn treaty. On all these accounts, he resolved not to proceed openly on this occasion; but he secretly encouraged Baliol in his enterprise; connived at his assembling forces in the North; and gave countenance to the nobles, who were disposed to join in the attempt. A force of near two thousand five hundred men was enlisted under Baliol, by Umfraville earl of Angus, the lords Beaumont, Ferrers, Fitz-Warin, Wake, Stafford, Talbot, and Moubray. As these adventurers apprehended, that the frontiers would be strongly guarded, they resolved to make their attack by sea; and having embarked at Ravenspur, they reached in a few days the coast of Fife, where they were opposed by Alexander Seaton, who was killed on the spot, and his followers cut in pieces.

Baliol invades Scotland.

This advantage animated Baliol's party so much, that his army was soon increased to ten thousand men. After some days refreshment, he marched to Dumfermling, where he seized a magazine of arms; and thence towards Perth, where the governors of Scotland had appointed the rendezvous of their army, which they divided into two bodies, commanded by the earl of Mar, and the earl of March, who was now joined in the regency. They left Perth by different routes, lest the invaders should escape them. The loss of Robert and his two brave generals was now severely felt. The regents had no intelligence, and were so utterly unacquainted with the character of the troops they were to engage, that they imagined them to be a mob of banditti, who might be crushed at the first onset. They had agreed upon a junction of their forces at a place in Strathern; but, in the mean time, they encamped, one in the neighbourhood of Dupplin, and the other at Auchterarder, about five miles distant; so that the earl of Mar's division was at the greatest distance from Baliol. The latter, by the advice of Murray of Tullibardine, who was privately in the English interest, resolved to attack the division under the earl of Mar, which lay in a disorderly manner on the other side of the river. By an appointed signal, Murray discovered the place where the river was fordable; and in the night-time Baliol's

*The Scots
defeated at
Dupplin.*

*Baliol is
crowned at
Scone.*

A.D. 1672.

*Baliol de-
feated and
driven into
England.*

troops had passed it without any loss. The numerous attendants of the camp were attacked and driven back upon the main body, with considerable slaughter; but when the morning appeared, the English perceived the main body of the Scots advancing against them. The latter precipitately rushed on to the battle, without regard to some broken ground, which lay between them and the enemy, and which disordered their ranks. Baliol seized the favourable opportunity, advanced against them, and once more chaced them off the field with redoubled slaughter. In this action there fell above twelve thousand Scots, among whom was the flower of the nobility; the regent himself, the earl of Carrick, natural son to Edward Bruce the brother of the late king, the earls of Athol and Menteith, lord Hay of Errol, constable, and the lords Keith and Lindsey. The loss of the English scarce exceeded thirty men. Baliol soon after made himself master of Perth; but was not yet able to bring over any of the Scots to his party. The earl of March, and sir Archibald Douglas, brother to the lord of that name, appeared at the head of the Scottish armies, which amounted still to near forty thousand men; and they purposed to reduce the enemy by famine. They blockaded Perth by land; and they collected some vessels with which they invested it by water. But Baliol's ships, attacking the Scottish fleet, gained a complete victory; and opened the communication between Perth and the sea. The Scottish armies were then obliged to disband for want of pay and subsistence. The nation in effect was subdued by a handful of men. The noblemen successively submitted to Baliol, who was crowned at Scone on the 27th of September. David, his competitor, was sent over to France, with his betrothed wife; and a truce was granted, in order to assemble a parliament in tranquillity. But Baliol's imprudence, or his necessities, making him dismiss the greater part of his English followers, he was, notwithstanding the truce, attacked on a sudden near Annan by sir Archibald Douglas, and other chieftains of that party. He was routed; his brother was slain; and himself was chaced into England in a miserable condition, having thus lost his kingdom by a revolution as sudden as that by which he had acquired it^e.

Baliol, before this reverse of his fortune, had secretly sent a message to Edward, offering to renew the homage

^e Idem.

for his crown, and to espouse the princess Jane, if the pope's consent could be obtained, for dissolving her former marriage, which was not yet consummated. Edward, ambitious of recovering that important concession made by Mortimer during his minority, threw off all scruples, and willingly accepted the offer. But as the dethroning of Baliol had rendered this stipulation of no effect, the king prepared to re-instate him in possession of the crown; an enterprize which, judging from late experience, might be easily effected.

*War with
England:*

The Scots expecting that the chief brunt of the war would fall upon Berwick, Douglas, the regent, threw a strong garrison into that place, under the command of sir William Keith; and himself assembled a great army on the frontiers, ready to penetrate into England, as soon as Edward should have invested that fort. The English army was less numerous, but better supplied with arms and provisions, and retained in stricter discipline; and the king, notwithstanding the valiant defence made by Keith, had in two months reduced the garrison to extremities, and obliged them to capitulate. They engaged to surrender, if they were not relieved in a few days. This intelligence, being conveyed to the Scottish army, which was preparing to invade Northumberland, changed their plan of operations, and induced them to attempt the relief of Berwick. Douglas, who had ever purposed to decline a pitched battle, in which he was sensible of the enemy's superiority, was forced, by the impatience of his troops, to put the fate of the kingdom upon the event of one day. He attacked the English at Halidown-hill a little north of Berwick; and though his heavy armed cavalry dismounted, in order to render the action more steady, they were received with such valour by Edward, and were so galled by the English archers, that they were soon thrown into disorder, and, on the fall of Douglas, their general, were totally routed. The whole army fled in confusion; while both the English and Irish, particularly the latter, gave little quarter in the pursuit. All the chief of the nobility were either slain or made prisoners. Near thirty thousand of the Scots are said to have fallen in the action; while the loss of the English amounted only to one knight, one esquire, and thirteen private soldiers; an inequality almost incredible.

*July 15.
The Scots
defeated at
Halidown-
hill.*

The Scots had now no other resource than instant submission; and Edward, leaving a considerable body with Baliol to complete the conquest of the kingdom, returned with the remainder of his army to England. Baliol was acknowledged king by a parliament assembled at Edinburgh; the superiority of England was again recognised; many of the Scottish nobility swore fealty to Edward; and to complete the misfortune of the nation, Baliol ceded Berwick, Dunbar, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and all the south-east counties of Scotland, which were declared to be for ever annexed to the English monarchy.

But the English forces were no sooner withdrawn than the Scots revolted from Baliol, and returned to their former allegiance under Bruce. Sir Andrew Murray, appointed regent by the party of this latter prince, exerted himself with valour and activity in many small but decisive actions against Baliol; and in a short time had almost wholly expelled him the kingdom. Edward was obliged again to assemble an army, and march into Scotland, where the inhabitants, taught by experience, withdrew into their hills and fastnesses. He destroyed the houses, and ravaged the estates of those whom he called rebels. But this conduct served only to confirm them in their obstinate antipathy to England and to Baliol; and being now rendered desperate, they were ready to take advantage, on the first opportunity, of the retreat of their enemy; and they soon re-conquered their country from the English. Edward made again his appearance in Scotland with like success: he found every thing hostile in the kingdom, except the spot on which he was incamped; and though he marched uncontrouled over the low-countries, yet the spirit of the nation was farther than ever from being subdued.

A.D. 1335.

A negotiation, which proves abortive.

In the beginning of the year 1336, a very complicated negotiation was opened. A truce, lately made, had been prolonged to the 25th of January; while Edward sent safe-conducts for the Scottish plenipotentiaries, who were suffered to have forty horses in their retinue. There can be no doubt, that, at this time, Edward was inclined to restore the crown of Scotland to his brother-in-law, and to relinquish the cause of Baliol, had he known how to retain the possession of the southern provinces of Scotland. As a proof of this, a safe-conduct was issued at the same time to plenipotentiaries for David, with the like retinue of forty gentlemen on horse-back. This negotiation, however, proved abortive; and Edward made fresh pre-

parations

parations for invading Scotland. Besides the grand army, under the earl of Lancaster, two other bodies of English entered that kingdom; one under the earl of Cornwall, who filled the western counties with slaughter, and is said to have burnt a thousand Scots in the church of Lefmahagoe. *The English renew the invasion of Scotland.*

The English army in Scotland may be considered now as having four commanders in chief, which Edward very justly thought might prove highly detrimental to his affairs; and he therefore took a resolution to command his forces in person. He secretly left his great council sitting at Northampton, and posted as a private officer to Berwick, whence he arrived at Perth, before his generals there knew of his having left England. Upon his arrival, he found that the Scots had taken the castles of Bothwell and St. Andrew's, and were carrying on the siege of Stirling and Lochindores with great vigour. Hearing of Edward's arrival, they made a general assault upon Stirling, but were repulsed, and sir William Keith, one of their best officers, was killed; upon which lord William Douglas raised the siege, and they retired to their fastnesses. The siege of Lochindores being now also raised, Edward remained without an enemy in the field to oppose him; a circumstance, which, however flattering in appearance, had generally proved fatal to the English.

Upon Edward's return to England, the guardian Murray found means to assemble his friends, who again took the field, and reduced the fortresses of Dunster, Kineff, and Lauriston; all of which had been carefully fortified and garrisoned by Edward, but were now dismantled. These troops maintained themselves in the county of Angus during the winter, notwithstanding all the efforts made by Baliol and the English to dislodge them. In February, the regent took and demolished the fortress of Kinclevin; and this encouraged the earls of March and Fife, the lord Douglas, and other noblemen, to join him. Passing over to Fife, which seems to have been entirely under the power of Baliol, they demolished the tower of Falkland, ravaged the estates of his followers, and made them prisoners, until they could pay their ransoms. They next marched towards St. Andrew's, which they besieged three weeks, and forced the garrison at last to capitulate. About the same time, they also reduced the castle of Leuchars and of Bothwell. Such were the operations of this glorious campaign, which inspired the

The Scots again revolt.

Scots with fresh hopes of being yet able to recover their independence^b.

A.D. 1338.

A truce.

After these, and some other successes, Edward began to be more flexible with regard to David and his friends. He showed himself willing to listen to a treaty in which David should be considered as a principal; and a truce, which was to continue from February to Midsummer following, was in the mean time concluded between his plenipotentiaries and the Scottish commissioners. Edward, then preparing for his French expedition, left the earls of Arundel and Angus, his generals, in Scotland, with plenipotentiary powers in all civil affairs. About this time, the royal interest in Scotland received a fatal wound by the death of the guardian, sir Andrew Murray, who had with equal valour and success restored, in some measure, the independency of his country, after it was thought to have been irretrievably ruined.

History is silent respecting the conduct of the high-steward, now sole regent, for the last two years preceding his coadjutor's death, which creates some suspicion that he was discontented; but he no sooner entered upon the sole exercise of his power than he showed himself worthy of it. The Scots, upon the expiration of the truce, carried fire and sword into the English borders; and, notwithstanding the inaccuracy of their historians, many gallant actions were performed.

No general battle was fought while the earls of Arundel and Angus commanded for Edward in Scotland; but in the beginning of the year 1339, the lord high-steward resolved to distinguish himself by opening the siege of Perth, which Edward and his engineers had fortified with uncommon skill, and provided with an excellent garrison; but after a brave defence of four months, it was forced to surrender.

A.D. 1340.

A new truce.

No memorable achievement was performed by either party after the reduction of Perth; but a truce was concluded, to last from the 25th of September, 1340, to Midsummer following, during which time we know little of the internal affairs of Scotland, except that it was afflicted with a dreadful famine, through the long continuance of the war.

The war renewed.

No sooner, however, was the truce expired than the Scots again took the field, having previously received large supplies of men and money from France. The earl of

^b Buchanan.

Angus, and other commissioners, in Edward's absence, arrayed the militia of the northern counties of England, and provided in the best manner they could for the defence of the borders; but they were unable to prevent the Scots from carrying their ravages to the walls of Durham. In the course of this campaign, the royalists, by stratagem, recovered from the English the castle of Edinburgh. The reduction of this fort was followed by that of Stirling, a place of yet greater importance, and which, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the English, was taken by the brave Douglas, in the autumn of the year 1341.

A.D. 1341.

The Scots retake the castles of Edinburgh, and Stirling.

The castles of Berwick and Roxburgh were all that now remained of Edward's acquisitions in Scotland. He was now at Berwick with forty thousand foot, and six thousand horse, expecting supplies from his fleet, when he heard of the reduction of Stirling. He immediately returned to Newcastle, and with difficulty concealed from his enemies the distresses of his army. After the reduction of Stirling-castle, the high-steward, Douglas, and the other patriot heroes, who had thus almost rescued Scotland, retired to the strong passes of their country, particularly within the forest of Jedburgh; wisely resolving to act on the defensive, without hazarding a general engagement with Edward. Their next achievement was the reduction of the castle of Roxburgh, which was taken by escalade, by sir Alexander Ramfay, on the 30th of March, 1342.

The castle of Roxburgh reduced.

Edward was now heartily tired of maintaining Baliol, and was sincerely disposed towards a treaty with David, who, about this time, returned to Scotland, from France, where, though yet in early youth, he had signalized himself by some military exploits. He landed at Innerberry in the Mearns, with his queen Jane, attended by the earl of Murray, and sir Malcolm Fleming; and were thence conducted in triumph to Perth. The Scots, every where, at the sight of their beloved Bruce's son, were inspired with a joy which rose almost to enthusiasm; and his behaviour was such as attached them still more warmly to his person. Not content with thanking subjects who had served him with such inviolable fidelity, he called for lists of those who had fallen in the field in his cause, particularly at Duplin and Halidon, and made them all the compensation in his power, by re-instating them in their possessions, adding to their estates, or otherwise providing for their independence. The scenes of devastation, which

David lands in Scotland.

every where presented themselves to his eyes, joined to the promises he had made to the king of France, inspired him with thoughts of revenge; and he ordered a general rendezvous of his army to be held at Perth, openly declaring, that it was his intention to make severe reprisals upon the English. His army, when mustered, amounted to sixty thousand foot, and thirteen thousand horse, an almost incredible number, considering how often Scotland had lately been desolated, and what numbers of its inhabitants had perished by the sword^d.

While David was mustering his forces at Perth, Edward was attentive only to the making good his claim upon the crown of France. Trusting, therefore, to the confederacy that had been formed among the northern barons, he issued a writ, empowering Baliol to array all the militia beyond the Trent; but so despicable was Baliol now become in the eyes of the English, that this measure was attended with very little effect. David marched from Perth to Dumfermling, and crossing the Forth, he reached Northumberland. Here the earl of Murray, under whom David himself served as a volunteer, ordered his army to be divided into several bodies, that they might more effectually lay waste the country; and meeting with no resistance, he laid siege to Newcastle. This town had been strongly fortified by the northern confederacy, and was defended by sir John Nevil, an excellent officer, who, in a sally, surprised a party of the Scots, and obliged them to raise the siege. David, who had now taken upon him the command, exasperated by this repulse, proceeded with great severity through the bishoprick of Durham; but as he had undertaken this expedition against the opinion of his wisest generals and counsellors, who advised him to delay it until Edward should pass over to France, and as the latter was advancing by slow marches, he judged it proper to retire. After these transactions, a short truce was concluded, which was afterwards prolonged to three years, when matters might be ripe for a definitive treaty.

Edward, on his return to England, in the spring of the year 1343, instructed his plenipotentiaries to make bitter complaints to the pope, that the Scots had violated their biennial truce^e. The pope complained to David on this head, but received very little satisfaction. Edward, at this time, wanted only a plausible pretence to carry on the war with France, which he thought his parliament was too cool in supporting. He had repeatedly offered to ac-

*David in-
vades Eng-
land.*

*He re-
turns to
Scotland.*

A truce.

^d Fordun. Chron. Dun.

^e Heming.

commodate all matters with David; but the constant answer of the latter was, that he would do nothing without the participation of the French king. Thus matters being left to the arbitration of the pope, then residing at Avignon, the negociation, through the different views of the parties, became so intricate, that Edward plainly informed the pope he was resolved once more to have recourse to arms. He complained that Philip had excited the Scots to break the truce; he recalled his commissioners; and declared with an oath, that he would, for some time, attend to no business but the war with Scotland, which he was resolved to make the monument of his vengeance. Upon the return of the English plenipotentiaries, who had been sent to conclude a definitive peace with the Scots, Edward advanced to Berwick with a declared intention to invade Scotland; upon which the Scots laid siege to the castle of Lochmaben, which was defended by sir Walter Selby, a brave English officer. Edward was preparing to march to its relief, when he was informed that the siege was raised, by the valour of the garrison, and by the assistance of the bishop of Carlisle, and the lord Anthony Lucy. Edward, notwithstanding this event, did not long adhere to the passionate declaration he had made; for a party of his troops being defeated under the lord Ralph Nevil, who was made prisoner, and sent to Dunbar, he agreed to another two years truce with the Scots.

It appears that Edward, about this time, by the means of lord Henry Percy, sir Maurice Berkley, and sir Thomas Lucy, tampered with the brave Douglas, who was supposed to have received some disgust from his countrymen; but he still remained firm in his allegiance, and rejected all Edward's offers. This attempt to debauch so great a nobleman, very possibly provoked David to renew hostilities with England. Edward assembled his parliament, and informed it that the Scots had broke the truce, to which they had declared they would pay no farther regard than was agreeable to the king of France. His parliament, upon this information, granted him a large supply, to enable Baliol, who was then governor of Berwick, to take the field; but this did not prevent the Scots from invading Westmoreland, and burning Penrith, Carlisle, and several other towns in the neighbourhood.

A.D. 1344.

*The Scots
again in-
vade Eng-
land.*

Next year, the critical situation of Edward's affairs in France, induced him to make very advantageous offers to

^f Buchanan.

David,

A.D. 1346. David, promising to abandon Baliol's interest as king of Scotland. David's wisest counsellors advised him to finish the negotiation upon the terms proposed; and it is only to be ascribed to his prepossessions in favour of Philip, and the French influence in his council, that he rejected the terms. The majority of the Scottish parliament, however, approved of David's conduct; and in the month of October he assembled fifty thousand men. While Edward was laying siege to Calais, David marched towards the South; and without making any attempt upon the castle of Roxburgh, which had been recovered by the English, he proceeded to the fortress of Liddel, which he took by storm, and put all within to the sword. The Scots next marched to Lanercost, which they plundered. Then passing the river Erthing, they entered Northumberland, where they plundered the priory of Hexham; but David ordered the town to be saved, that it might serve as a magazine for his army in its return from York, to which he was bending his march. He is said to have given orders that three other towns, Corbridge, Durham, and Darlington, should be spared for the like reason. In his march to Durham, he would have rendered the whole country a desert, had not some of the monks paid him a contribution of a thousand pounds, to spare their estates; but, according to Knighton, all the Englishmen who fell into his hands, if not able to redeem their life, by paying three pence, were put to the sword.

The queen of England, hearing of this invasion, issued orders for the lords of the Marches to assemble their troops, which she reviewed at York in person, attended by the two archbishops. In a few days, she was at the head of a noble army, which was formed into four divisions. The disposition of the Scottish army is variously reported; but the best authors agree that the king in person headed a chosen battalion, composed of his French auxiliaries, and the flower of his nobility. The high-steward of Scotland and the earl of March headed the second line; as the earls of Murray and Douglas did the last. The numbers of the two armies are also variously represented. All we know is, that when that of the English was mustered at York, it amounted, according to their authors, to sixteen thousand men: but this number probably was exclusive of the troops raised by the lords marchers, and which joined them before they reached Durham. The number of the Scottish army which was engaged is uncertain. For, whatever it might be when
it

it left Scotland, the common people never failed to make the best of their way homewards, especially in autumn, as soon as they had acquired booty; and this, more than once, occasioned the most dreadful calamities to their country. While the English were on their march towards Durham, the lord Douglas and sir David Graham skirted them with a body of horse, but were driven back upon their main army with considerable loss. The battle then became general, and showers of arrows were exchanged. But in that distant way of fighting, the Scots perceived themselves overmatched by the English archers. Upon this, the lord high-steward charged the archers sword in hand, with so much fury, that they fell back upon lord Henry Percy's division, which must have been totally defeated, had it not been supported by Baliol, who commanded in chief, and reinforced them with a body of four thousand horse. These, advancing on a smart trot, changed the fortune of the day; though the lord high-steward and his line made a masterly retreat. Baliol, without pursuing them, wheeled round, and flanked the division commanded by his rival David, which was engaged with another line of the English, and was soon cut in pieces. All the troops about the king's person were reduced to eighty noblemen and gentlemen; and himself, after performing great acts of valour, was wounded in the head with an arrow. Even in this desperate situation, he refused to ask for quarter, imagining that he would be relieved by the high-steward, and that line of his army which was still entire under the lords Murray and Douglas. The latter moved to his assistance when it was too late. David, perceiving himself totally overpowered, was endeavouring to retreat when he was overtaken by a party under one John Copeland. Finding it in vain to resist, he asked if any man of quality was among his pursuers; and Copeland pretending that himself was an English baron, David gave him his sword, and surrendered himself his prisoner. Meantime, the division under the lords Moubray and Douglas had been totally routed by Baliol, to whose valour the English victory was owing. In this battle the Scots are said to have lost fifteen thousand men, among whom were, John Randolph, earl of Murray; the earl of Strathern; Edward Keith, earl marshal; and the lord David Hay, constable; with several other persons of distinction. Among the prisoners, beside the king, were the bishops of St. Andrew's and Aberdeen; the earls of Fife, Sutherland, Douglas, and Menteith, with those of Carri-

and

Oct. 17.
A battle
in which
David is
made pri-
soner.

and Wigton; the lord James Douglas, and many gentlemen of eminence.

*David is
brought to
the Tower
of London.*

David was shortly after carried from the castle of Ogle to London: his treatment on the road and his reception in the capital were magnificent, and had been directed by Edward himself, whose behaviour was now greatly softened towards the Scots. He was received with the greatest solemnity, by the lord-mayor and the other magistrates; the city-companies, under arms, lining all the streets through which he passed to the Tower, where he was delivered to the custody of the constable; and, though strictly guarded, was treated with great respect.

*The earl of
Menteith
executed.*

Of all the illustrious Scotsmen made prisoners at the battle of Durham, Edward was most exasperated at the earls of Menteith and Fife. The family of the former lay under great obligations to the kings of England; and both of them had performed their oaths of fealty to Edward and Baliol; for which they were by Edward, without trial, condemned for high treason. Menteith was accordingly executed as a traitor, and his quarters sent to different towns of England; but the earl of Fife was pardoned, on account, as is said, of some distant relationship he had with the royal family of England.

*Progress of
Baliol.*

Baliol, encouraged by his late success, proceeded with redoubled vigour in the prosecution of the war. Before the expiration of the year, he recovered all that the Scots held in England, reduced the castles of Hermitage and Roxburgh, the forest of Etrick, the Merse, and the counties of Annandale, Teviotdale, and Tweeddale. As to the Scots, though they blamed their king for his obstinacy, they sympathised with his misfortunes, and continued attached to his cause. The conduct of the high-steward, notwithstanding the appearances that were against him, was approved by the states, and he was once more chosen guardian of the kingdom; in which station he acquitted himself with great applause. Baliol, having mustered his army, formed it into two divisions; one of them, consisting of twenty thousand men, commanded by himself, entered Scotland by the way of Carlisle, as the other, under the lords Piercy and Nevil, did on the side of Berwick. Baliol's intention was to ravage Galloway, Niddale, and Carric, while the two lords were laying waste the eastern part of the country. It was proposed that the two armies should afterwards join near Edinburgh, and thence march to Perth. In this enterprize he succeeded to his wish. The guardian had withdrawn all opposition

from the field; the junction was formed, and the whole army marched in a body towards Perth.

While Baliol was thus advancing with great rapidity, his progress was stopt by a transaction in a different quarter. The taking of Calais, though glorious to Edward, had cost him a vast number of men, and reduced his finances to a very low condition. Listening, therefore, to the mediation of the pope, a truce was concluded between him and Philip, which was to continue until the 9th of July, 1348. In this treaty it was agreed that the Scots should be comprised, and that the truce should be proclaimed on the Marches both of England and Scotland; provided always, that, whether or not the Scots should refuse to accept the truce, it should nevertheless continue firm and inviolable between the two kings. The operation of this truce, therefore, took place about the time that Baliol was marching towards Perth.

A.D 1347.

Sept 28.
A truce.

It does not, however, appear that the guardian and the states of Scotland had absolutely accepted of the truce, though it had been proclaimed upon the borders; which gave Edward a pretence to allege, that, by breaking it, they had violated their faith. When Edward arrived in England, he complained of this, and refused, for that reason, to enter upon any treaty for David's ransom, before he had satisfaction for the breach of the truce. This was so far from discouraging the Scots, that they even made inroads into England, though Baliol passed the winter of 1347 in the castle of Lanric, (which lies, according to Abercromby, on the borders of Galloway) but probably too weak to undertake any thing of consequence. Though both the Scottish and English historians are silent as to particulars, we find that, at the end of the year 1348, the Bruceans had recovered all their country except Berwick, Roxburgh, Hermitage, and Lanrick, which was part of Baliol's hereditary estate, and defended by him with an army. The Scottish historians inform us, that the English, in revenge of the damages done their country by the breach of the peace, proclaimed a tournament and other warlike exercises to be held at Berwick; to which they invited the Scots; but the latter, in their way thither, fell into an ambuscade, and were cut in pieces by the English.^a

During the years 1349, and 1350, Scotland was visited by a plague, which had passed from the continent of Eu-

^a Buchanan. Fordun.^b Trivet. Heming.

rope to England, and thence northwards. But even this dreadful calamity was not sufficient to extinguish the feuds and animosities which prevailed among the great families of Scotland. There was, however, a total cessation of national contests.

A.D 1353.

David is permitted to come to Scotland.

David all this time remained a prisoner in England. Several treaties had been proposed by the Scots for his ransom, but all of them proved ineffectual; because Edward insisted, as a preliminary condition, that he and his subjects should be indemnified for the ravages of the Scots, in the breach of the truce. There is reason, however, to think, that had the guardian of Scotland, and the great lords there, been very earnest for David's liberty, they might have procured it. At last, Edward gave David leave to return to Scotland, where, according to the English historians, he was so fond of liberty, that he solicited his subjects to sacrifice their independence, to deliver him from his captivity; a request which they magnanimously refused.

His honourable behaviour.

Whatever were the terms which David proposed to his subjects, he behaved as a man of honour towards Edward: for finding his solicitations fruitless, he returned to his prison at London, whence, by the intercession of the queen his wife, he was suffered, in July, 1353, to repair to Newcastle, at which place a new negotiation was entered into for his ransom.

Negotiation about David's ransom.

Whatever discontent the nobility of Scotland might entertain on account of David's partiality for the French, they agreed to supply him with money during his confinement. Upon the meeting of the plenipotentiaries to treat of David's ransom, many debates ensued; but at last the following preliminaries were agreed upon: that monsieur David de Bruce should be instantly set at liberty; and that he should pay for his ransom the sum of ninety thousand marks sterling, by annual instalments, within the space of nine years: that twenty Scottish gentlemen, the heirs of the greatest families in that kingdom, should remain in England as hostages for the payment of the said sum: and that, if the money was not paid at the precise terms appointed, then David should return to England, and continue there a prisoner until it was paid: or, if he was detained by some just impediment, that the lord high-steward of Scotland, the lord of Douglas, Thomas Murray, and John of the Isles, should come and supply his place.

These

These articles, doubtless, afford some ground for the allegation of the English writers, that David was too fond of his liberty. They left his title to the crown still questionable, and disallowed by the English, while Baliol's claim remained unextinguished. The ransom-money was a larger sum than Scotland, in her then exhausted state, could furnish; and what was also a strong objection, no regard was had to the interests of the French, who had served David so faithfully. In fact, the Scottish nobility thought the terms so disadvantageous and dishonourable, that they rejected them. This was a great disappointment to Edward, who, with his son, the prince of Wales, had not only ratified the treaty, but had issued writs, commanding all the nobility and gentry in the neighbourhood of Newcastle to attend him with their best equipages, that they might be present at the delivery of David into the hands of his own subjects, and at receiving hostages in his room. The refusal of the Scots to ratify this treaty broke off all conferences relative to the king's ransom; and both nations occasionally renewed their incursions; though we know of few or none of the particulars until the expiration of the truce in 1355.

The Scots reject a dishonourable treaty agreed to by the king.

John, by this time, had succeeded his father, Philip de Valois, on the throne of France, and, in order to enable the Scots to continue the war with England, he sent them over a supply of forty thousand crowns of the sun, accompanied with several chosen officers. In consequence of this supply, the guardian and his adherents once more took the field upon the expiration of the truce; but not before the English had destroyed the Lothians and Douglasdale. The Scots, after a successful action upon the borders, resolved to make an attempt upon Berwick, which, after a vigorous resistance, they carried by storm. Their possession of this fortress, however, continued but a short time. Edward, being informed that the Scots had laid siege to Berwick, immediately appointed his military tenants to attend him at Durham, on the 1st of January, 1356, and he set off, with all speed, for that place. On this expedition he was attended by the famous sir Walter Manny, one of his best generals, a large body of miners, and a well provided fleet. He arrived before Berwick the 14th of January, and the Scottish garrison being unprovided with the means of subsistence, they were obliged to capitulate^a.

Success of the Scots.

^a Buch. Chron. Mel.

*Baliol re-
sigs his
pretensions
to the
crown of
Scotland.*

The retaking of Berwick by Edward produced a signal effect. Baliol, unfeeling as he was of disgrace and dependence, now perceived that all the hopes which Edward had suffered him to entertain of the Scottish crown, were entirely vain, and that Edward, on the contrary, had the crown of Scotland in his eye for his son, prince Lionel, earl of Ulster; his sister having no children by David. Baliol was now advanced in years, and broken in spirit as in fortune: he had no lawful issue, and had reaped no benefit from a long course of military toils; he therefore voluntarily retired, upon a comfortable subsistence, to a private life, by resigning to Edward all his title to the crown of Scotland, with all his interest in that kingdom. The offer was readily accepted; and it was agreed, that he should receive a pension of two thousand and fifty pounds a year.

Edward was now at the head of a strong army in England, and in high expectation of being able to carry into execution his treaty with Baliol. The Scots secretly dreaded his power, and endeavoured to divert him from invading their country. The guardian assembled a parliament at Perth, where plenipotentiaries were appointed to treat about the redemption of the king, and a final peace with England. The earl of Douglas and some of his followers, about the same time, were admitted into Edward's presence at Roxburgh, and seemed disposed to confer with him about a submission; but with no other view (if we are to believe English authors) than to give their countrymen time to carry their effects to the north of Forth, and to desolate the country through which they knew Edward was preparing to march. Edward, on the other hand, was the more willing to negotiate, as he was waiting for his ships; but Douglas and the Scottish noblemen soon made him sensible of their intention, by flatly declaring, that they would rather die than submit to his demands. Edward was now preparing to make the Scots feel the most severe effects of his resentment, when he understood that his fleet, on which he had so great a dependence, was wrecked on the coast of Scotland; and he was obliged to return to England, without being able to complete the schemes either of his revenge or ambition^b.

A.D. 1357.

A truce.

But the flow of success which Edward had on the continent, about this period, seems to have rendered him more tractable; and he began to listen to proposals of a

^b Buchanan.

truce, sent him by pope Innocent, and which actually was concluded for two years, on the 23d of March, 1357, between France and England; in which the Scots were comprehended. This step was followed soon after by one more extraordinary, which was his agreeing, on the 8th of May, to a special truce with Scotland by a separate treaty, in which David, for the first time, is styled king of Scotland. Next followed a negociation for setting that prince at liberty. He was, for that purpose, conducted to Berwick, where commissioners from both nations met; and it was finally agreed, that he should be ransomed for a hundred thousand merks sterling, to be paid in ten years, by annual installments. David being restored to liberty, ratified his treaty of ransom, as did his parliament, in a full assembly at Scone, on the 6th of the ensuing November; and, on the 8th of the same month, it was ratified by Edward, whom nothing but necessity could induce to the concessions he now made, and which entirely extinguished the flattering prospects he had entertained from his late contract with Baliol^c.

David, upon his return to Scotland, was received by his subjects with transports of joy. The first installment of his ransom was punctually paid on the 24th of June, 1358; and we are told, that in consequence of a private promise made to Edward, he demolished the castles of Dalswinton, Dumfries, Morton, and Durisdere. David returned to Scotland with great prepossessions against the guardian. In the first parliament held after this period, he accused that nobleman of having betrayed him at the battle of Durham, where he had been made prisoner. We know nothing of the defence made by the guardian against this charge, which there is reason to think was ill founded. But David acted upon the occasion in an arbitrary and unconstitutional manner; for he altered the order of the succession to the crown, by transferring it from the great-steward to his other nephew, son to the earl of Sutherland, by his youngest sister.

David soon perceived that it would be next to impossible for him to discharge his ransom, according to the stipulated agreement with Edward, and therefore he sent his queen, who had always lived in tolerable good correspondence with her brother, to the court of England, with the view of procuring some mitigation in the terms of payment. Her attendance was splendid, but her success

Treaty for David's ransom.

A.D. 1358.

David displeased with the guardian,

whom he disinherits.

David's connections with England.

^c Buchanan.

A.D. 1359

indifferent, and David followed her in person towards the end of the year 1358. But all the favour that their joint solicitations could obtain, was a respite of the second payment of the ransom-money, from Midsummer, 1359, to the 11th of November following. The remainder of David's life appears to have been spent chiefly in journies to England, and in negotiations with Edward, respecting the payment of the ransom, and even the succession to the crown of Scotland. After the death of queen Jane, David married another lady, named Margaret Logy. A misunderstanding seems to have subsisted between him and his nobles; and he died on the 22d of February, 1370-71, in the forty-ninth year of his reign, and the forty-eighth of his age.

A.D. 1371.

*Death of
David.*

Robert II.

A few years before David's death, his nephew, Robert Stuart, formerly regent, had renewed his oath of fidelity at Inchmurdach; and consequently his right of succession was, at the same time, recognized by David and his parliament. An assembly of the states being now held, they acknowledged Robert's succession; and he was accordingly crowned.

When Robert ascended the throne, a truce of fourteen years had been concluded with England; and he, therefore, could not avail himself of the disposition of his subjects to recover from the English the fortresses of Berwick and Roxburgh, with other places on the borders. The nation was still indebted to Edward for fifty-six thousand pounds, which Robert undertook to pay at the rate of four thousand marks every Midsummer-day, until the whole was discharged.

A treaty, which Robert concluded with France, occasioned a recall of all the Scots out of the English armies; and this measure was considered by Edward as a prelude to an invasion from Scotland. He accordingly issued writs for arraying the militia in the North of England; and it is certain, that, though there was at this time no declared war between the two crowns, yet hostilities were every day mutually committed by their subjects. A rooted enmity subsisted, not only between the common people of the two kingdoms, but between their nobility; and, at this time, the families of Douglas and Piercy, whose estates and commands lay contiguous to each other, were constantly at variance. The Scottish borderers, not tasting, as usual, the sweets of English plunder, had formed themselves into bands of banditti, independent of all controul, even that of the

lords marchers. Becoming at last very powerful, they resolved to break the truce which then subsisted, by taking the castle of Berwick, which they actually surpris'd in the night-time, about the end of November, and put all who fell in their way to the sword. The English army soon after appeared before the place, and, in the king of England's name, summon'd those within to surrender. The answer was, that they would neither give it up to the king of England nor of Scotland, but would defend it for the king of France, between whom and England there subsisted no truce. According to the best authority, the besieged were no more than forty-eight persons, and the besiegers amounted to near ten thousand, under the command of the earls of Northumberland and Nottingham. For eight days the castle was bravely defended; but on the ninth it was taken by storm, and all the garrison put to the sword, except Ramsay, their leader, who was saved on account of the information which he could give of his accomplices.

A.D. 1377.

Berwick surpris'd by the Scots.

The English, however, not satisfied with taking this important place, invaded Scotland. This invasion seems to have been occasioned by an attempt which the earl of Douglas made to throw succours into the castle of Berwick; but, finding the relief of the place impracticable, he desisted from the enterprize. He had, however, taken his measures so well, that the English durst not venture to advance into Scotland, without reconnoitering the country, for fear of ambushes. Sir Thomas Musgrave was employed on this service; but, falling in with a party of the Scots, six hundred of his men were made prisoners, and himself was taken at the same time; upon which, the earl of Northumberland thought proper to desist from his expedition.

A.D. 1385.

The Scots, sensible of their own deficiency in cavalry, had applied to the regency of Charles VI. and John de Vienne, admiral of France, had been sent over with a body of fifteen hundred men at arms, to support them in their incursions against the English. The latter, deeming the danger serious, an army of sixty thousand men was levied, and marched into Scotland, with Richard II. then king of England, at their head. Robert, mindful of the great Bruce's dying advice, knew it would be the height of temerity to hazard a decisive battle, to which he was urged by the admiral of France. He, therefore, retired with the main body of his army across the Forth, while Richard was marching towards Edinburgh. The latter

The English invade Scotland.

having passed Berwick, found the country of Scotland a desert; and he met with no opposition until he came to Edinburgh, where he burnt a few miserable huts, which then composed that city. Robert, before he retired northwards, had given the command of a body of troops to the lord Douglas, and other officers, who harraided the English army to such a degree, that Richard found a considerable diminution of his numbers, without having gained the smallest advantage, except that of laying the abbey of Melros, as well as the city of Edinburgh, in ashes^d.

*The Scots
invade
England.*

When Richard entered Scotland by the east coast, a great body of the Scots entered the borders of England by the west; and, carrying their ravages through Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, collected a rich booty, and then returned to their own country.

The irruption of the Scots into England gave the earl of Oxford, a rising favourite with Richard, an opportunity of remonstrating upon the necessity of returning to defend his English dominions. The duke of Lancaster insisted upon carrying the war across the Forth; but his perseverance served only to increase Richard's suspicions of his ambitious views; and the king, therefore, evacuated Scotland, after losing great numbers of men and horses, without performing any exploit worthy his prodigious preparations. At length, a truce was concluded

A truce.

A.D. 1387. 27th of June, 1386, to the end of May, 1387. But it was no sooner expired than the war broke out with fresh fury. The earls of Fife and Douglas ravaged Northumberland and Westmoreland, while William Douglas, who had lately married the king's daughter, and was created lord Nithsdale, defeated a party of three thousand English, of whom two hundred were killed, and five hundred made prisoners. This nobleman, ambitious of rivalling the Bruces, and other Scottish warriors, of former times, projected the plan of a bold expedition against Ireland. That people, ever since Richard's accession, had been remarkably active against the Scots, and had made several descents in the western parts of the

A.D. 1388.

*The Scots
invade
Ireland.*

kingdom. To revenge this treatment, Douglas, early in the year 1388, obtained permission to raise a body of troops. He was joined by the earl of Fife; and they had great success in their invasion. They defeated the Irish militia of Dundalk and Carlingford. They plundered the

^d Chron. Dun. Chron. Pais.

latter town, and loaded fifteen ships, which they found in its harbour, with their booty. The adventurers next sailed for the Isle of Man, then belonging to the Montague family, the professed enemies of the Scots; and, having laid it waste, they returned with their spoils to Scotland.

These successes encouraged Robert to make higher attempts. He called together his parliament at Aberdeen, where a double invasion of England was resolved upon. Two armies were raised, consisting each of fifteen thousand men; and, after rendezvousing at Jedburgh, they parted. One of them, under the earl of Fife, entered by the west Marches into Cumberland; and the other, commanded by the earls of Douglas and March, fell directly into Northumberland, which they laid waste; and then both armies, as had been previously concerted, joined within ten miles of Newcastle.

*Invasion of
England.*

All the North of England was thrown into the greatest consternation. Newcastle was defended by the earl of Northumberland, whose age and infirmities disabled him from taking the field; but his place was well supplied by his two sons, Henry and Ralph, the former well known by the name of Hotspur, which he obtained from his fiery disposition. The town was garrisoned by the flower of the English nobility and gentry, as well as the inhabitants of the adjacent counties, who had fled thither for refuge. Douglas, to distinguish himself, selected two thousand foot, and three hundred horsemen, out of the two armies, and encamped on the north side of the town, with a view, it is said, of storming it next day. Meantime, he received from the Hotspur Piercy a challenge, to fight him hand to hand, with sharp spears, in view of both armies. Douglas accepting the challenge, the parties immediately engaged. Piercy was unhorsed in the first encounter, and forced to take refuge within the gate of the town, whence Douglas brought off Hotspur's lance, with a pennon affixed to it; and swore, in his hearing, that he would carry it in triumph to Scotland. Next day, the earl of Douglas ordered the town-ditch to be filled up with hay and faggots, and his men applied ladders to the walls, with the design of taking the place by storm. In attempting that enterprize, his troops were beat by the besieged, who were far more numerous; and, in the night-time, they decamped. Piercy, breathing revenge, pursued, and overtook them at Otterburn. The principal division of the Scottish army, under the earl of Fife,

July 21.
*Battle of
 Otterburn.*

had taken a different route from that under Douglas, who with the earls of March and Murray, were unarmed, and preparing to sit down to supper, when they received intelligence of the approach of the English. The Scots, in an instant, were under arms; but such was their confusion, that the earl of Douglas, in the hurry, forgot his cuirass. The leaders, on each side, encouraged their men by the most animating speeches; and both parties waited for the rise of the moon, which happened that night to be unusually bright. Upon the moon's appearance, the battle commenced, and the Scots at first give way; but being rallied by Douglas, who fought with a battle-axe, and reinforced by Patrick Hepburn, his son, and his attendants, the English were routed, though greatly superior in number. But the brave earl of Douglas, being mortally wounded, was carried to his tent, where he expired in the morning. His precaution was such, that his misfortune was concealed from his men, who, thinking themselves invincible under his command, totally routed the English; of whom twelve hundred men were killed on the spot, and a hundred persons of distinction (among whom were the two Piercys) were made prisoners by Keith, marshal of Scotland*.

While Piercy was pursuing Douglas, the bishop of Durham was marching towards Newcastle, with an army of ten thousand men; but was informed, by the fugitives, of Piercy's defeat. A council of war being held, it was resolved to pursue the Scots, who, fatigued with the battle of the preceding night, and loaded with plunder, it was imagined, would prove an easy conquest. The bishop's army was first perceived by one Lindsay, a Scotsman, who had a little before released, upon his word of honour, Redman, the governor of Berwick; but was now made prisoner in his turn. The earl of Murray, who then commanded in chief, held a consultation to deliberate how to proceed. It was agreed to hazard a battle. Their prisoners were, at this time, almost as numerous as their army; and precedents are to be found in history (in those of England particularly) when prisoners, in like exigencies, were put to the sword. The Scottish generals, with a magnanimity that does honour to their memory and their country, disdained such conduct, and required no more of their prisoners than their words of honour, that they would remain in the camp inactive, and continue

* Buchan. Heming.

as prisoners. This condition being complied with, the Scots drew out their army for battle. Their rear was secured by marshes, and their flanks by large trees which they had felled. Their appearance, which carried no sign of fatigue or despondency, struck the English; who were also terrified by the sound of the bugle-horns, of which every Scotsman carried one to the field, slung about his neck. In short, the prelate resolved upon a retreat, and returned to Newcastle, while his enemies continued their march to Scotland.

Robert's age and infirmities having now disabled him from the management of affairs, the weight of government fell chiefly upon his son, the earl of Fife; as the eldest son was by nature indolent, and lame by an unlucky blow which he had received from a horse. The earl was ambitious to raise his reputation by his valour; and, early in the spring of the year, 1389, he collected an army, with which he insulted that commanded by the English warden, who entrenched himself, while the Scots plundered the adjacent country. A truce again put an end to national hostilities; but the peace of the kingdom was sacrilegiously violated by Robert's third son, the earl of Buchan, who, upon a quarrel with the bishop of Murray, burnt down that fine cathedral, which has been celebrated by historians as the ornament of Scotland. The earl's presumption was such, that he appeared in his father's presence after this atrocious crime; but Robert, old as he was, ordered him to be apprehended, and strictly imprisoned. This was the last act of Robert's reign; for he died soon after, at his castle of Dundonald, in the seventy-fourth or seventy-fifth year of his age, and the nineteenth of his reign.

A.D. 1390.

April 19.
Death of
Robert.
Robert III.

Robert was succeeded by his eldest son John, a name which, being in that age thought unfortunate for a king, he changed for the more auspicious one of Robert. He had, when young, commanded armies, and negotiated treaties; but had for some years lived in retirement, on account of the accident above mentioned. He had married Annabel, daughter of sir John Drummond, ancestor to the family of Perth; and was crowned at Scone, on the 13th of August, with his queen.

The beginning of the reign of Robert was disturbed with some insurrections, particularly one combat, which, as it may give an idea of the character of the ancient clans, and the desperate manner in which they engaged in their feudal disputes, deserves to be recited.

Two Highland tribes, one called the clan Chattan, and the other the clan Kay, both of them numerous, brave, and barbarous, had given disturbance to the government; and the earl of Crawford was entrusted with a commission for subduing them. This nobleman, being apprehensive that, should he attempt to suppress them by force, they might unite against him, and thereby occasion a great deal of bloodshed, if not defeat him, resolved, in conjunction with the earl of Murray, who was joined with him in the commission, to have recourse to policy. Under pretence, therefore, that they were unable to reconcile the differences of the two clans, they proposed a method by which their disputes might be terminated. This was by thirty, on each side, entering themselves as champions for their respective clans, and deciding their differences by the sword, without being allowed any other weapon. This proposal, which entirely concurred with the spirit of the feudal system, was agreed to on both sides. The king, and his nobility, were to be spectators of the combat. The individuals of the conquered clan were to be pardoned for all their former offences, and the conquerors honoured with the royal favour. The North Inch of Perth, a level spot, so called from being partly surrounded by water, was fixed upon as the scene of action. Upon mustering the combatants, it was discovered, that one of them, belonging to the clan Chattan, had absented himself through fear, and could not be found. For removing the inequality, a proposal was made to withdraw one of the clan Kay; but none of them could be prevailed upon to resign the honour of the combat. After various other expedients had failed, one Henry Wynd, a saddler, though no way connected with the other clan, offered to supply the place of the absentee, upon his receiving a French crown of gold (about the value of seven shillings and sixpence), which was accordingly paid him. The encounter was maintained on both sides with inconceivable fury; but, at length, by the superior valour, strength, and skill, of Henry Wynd, victory declared for the clan Chattan. Of this tribe no more than ten, beside Wynd, were left alive, and all dangerously wounded. The combatants of the clan Kay were all cut off, except one, who remained unhurt. He threw himself into the Tay, and escaped to the opposite bank.

A.D. 1396.

*Battle of
two clans.*

† Fordun. Buchan.

In

In a short time after this transaction, the ducal title was introduced into Scotland. It was then frequent in France and England, but Robert was sparing of it upon his subjects. In October, 1398, we find the prince-royal, who was hitherto prince of Carric, designed duke of Rothefay; and the earl of Fife was created duke of Albany.

A.D. 1398

Dukes first created in Scotland.

A revolution having now happened in the government of England, where Henry IV. had mounted the throne, the Scots were tempted to renew their incursions into that kingdom. Henry, desirous of taking revenge upon them, but afraid of rendering himself unpopular by requiring great supplies from his subjects, summoned, at Westminster, a council of the peers, without the commons, and laid before them the state of his affairs. The military part of the feudal constitution was now much decayed; and the peers undertook, but voluntarily, to attend the king in an expedition against Scotland, each of them at the head of a certain number of his retainers. Henry conducted the army to Edinburgh, of which he easily made himself master; and he there summoned Robert III. to do homage to him for the Scottish crown. But finding that the Scots would neither submit, nor give him battle, he returned in three weeks, after making this useless bravado, and disbanded his army.

A.D. 1401.

Robert was at this time oppressed with infirmities, and so much sequestered from the world, that we know not the place of his residence during the late invasion. There scarcely can be a question, that, after the queen's death, which happened the preceding year, he was entirely under the direction of his brother, the ambitious duke of Albany, who gave him the most disadvantageous impressions of his son, the duke of Rothefay. He had, during the queen's life, accused that prince of being dissipated and unruly; and the king had appointed certain noblemen to regulate his conduct. The whole of the charge against him, however, appears to have been only some amorous excesses; for, during the late invasion, he was entrusted with the defence of Edinburgh castle, in which it is probable that the king himself was shut up, and it is certain that most of the Scottish peers, south of the Forth, were.

One Remorgny, a man of the vilest principles, but an attendant upon the duke of Rothefay, had won his confidence; and perceiving how much the prince resented the conduct of his uncle the duke of Albany, Remorgny had the villainy to suggest to the prince the dispatching him

A conspiracy.

him by assassination. The prince rejected this infamous proposal with horror; and the villain, being afraid of its coming to the ears of the duke of Albany, informed the latter, under the seal of inviolable secrecy, that the prince intended to murder him. Upon this, the duke, with William of Rothsay, his associate in the treason, resolved upon the prince's death. By practising upon the doating king, Lindsay and Remorgny obtained a writ directed to the duke of Albany, empowering him to arrest his son, and to keep him under restraint, in order for his amendment. The same traitors had previously possessed the prince with an apprehension that his life was in danger, and had persuaded him to seize the castle of St. Andrew's, and to keep possession of it during the vacancy of that see. Robert had nominated to that bishoprick one of his bastard brothers, who was then deacon of St. Andrew's; but being a person no way fitted for such a dignity, he declined the honour, and the chapter refused to elect any other during his life-time; so that the prince had a prospect of occupying the castle for some time. Riding thither with a small attendance, he was arrested on the road, and hurried to the very castle of which he was preparing to take possession.

The duke of Albany, and the earl of Douglas, who was likewise the prince's enemy, were then at Culros, waiting the issue of their detestable conspiracy; of which they were no sooner informed than they ordered a strong body of ruffians to carry the royal captive from the castle of St. Andrew's, and commit him to the care of two execrable wretches, John Selkirk and John Wright, who were privately instructed by the duke of Albany to starve him to death. This fate is said to have been for some time prolonged by the compassion of one of his keepers daughters, who thrust him thin oat-cakes through the chinks of the prison-walls, and by a woman who, being a wet-nurse, found means to convey part of her milk to him through a small tube^b. Both those charitable females were detected and put to death; the young lady's inhuman father being himself the prosecutor. The prince died a few days after, on Easter-Eve, his hunger having impelled him to devour part of his own flesh. He was buried in the church of Lindores; and so much was he thought by the country-people to be a martyr to his uncle's ambition, that they entertained the opinion that miracles

*The prince-
royal
survived.*

^b Buchanan.

were wrought at his tomb; a compliment they never would have paid to the memory of lewdness and brutality, even in a prince.

Robert was a long time ignorant of his son's detestable murder, and gave way to the renewing hostilities with England, the truce being then expired. Henry had sent a commission to the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, to offer the Scots any terms they could reasonably desire; but every proposal for an accommodation was rejected. The earl of Douglas, at the head of twelve thousand men, and attended by many of the principal nobility of Scotland, made an irruption into England, and committed devastations on the northern counties. On his return, he was overtaken at Homeldon, on the borders of England, and a fierce battle ensued, in which the Scots were totally routed. Douglas himself was made prisoner; as was Murdoc, earl of Fife, son to the duke of Albany, with the earls of Angus, Murray, and Orkney, and many other persons of distinction.

A.D. 1402.

The Scots defeated at Homeldon.

Though Robert was still beset by the duke of Albany's creatures, he was at last informed of his eldest son's miserable fate; but, being unable to do justice on the murderers, he could only indulge himself in the bitterest grief. In order, however, to secure his surviving son James from the duke's practices, he laid a plan for sending him over to France for his education. Accordingly the young prince secretly embarked with the earl of Orkney; but the ship being taken by an English privateer off Flamborough-head, the prince and his attendants were confined in a neighbouring castle, until they were sent to London, where, by a royal order, they were committed to the Tower. He was, soon after his arrival at London, carried before Henry, who examined his attendants, and was frankly told, that they were carrying the prince to France for his education. "I understand the French tongue," replied Henry, "and your countrymen ought to have been kind enough to have trusted me with their prince's education."

The prince of Scotland sent to France, but is intercepted by the English.

Robert was at his castle of Rothesay, in the Isle of Bute, when he received the heavy tidings of his son's captivity. His sensibility was such, that he was instantly struck with an agony of grief, which proved mortal. He was immediately carried to bed, where he expired three days after.

A.D. 1405.

March 29.
Death of Robert III.

Robert is mentioned by contemporary authors as one of the most graceful men of his time. Before he came to

to the crown, he discovered abilities and activity in public life; but after he was rendered lame, he gave himself entirely up to religious and domestic duties, in which he is said to have excelled. Beside his two sons, he had, by his queen Annabella Drummond, a daughter, who was first married to James Kennedy, of Drummair, ancestor to the earls of Cassilis; next to George Douglas, the first earl of Angus; and after him to Edmonston of Dunreth.

*James I.
Duke of
Albany
regent.
The king
of Scot. and
detained in
England.*

Upon the death of Robert, a convention of the states was held at Scone, where James's title was recognised, and the duke of Albany appointed regent^c.

The only pretext that Henry had for the detention of James, was the government of Scotland having received and sheltered the earl of Northumberland, his grand-son, and the other English fugitives, who had been proscribed by Henry after their last rebellion. This naturally turned the eyes of the royalists towards an exchange of prisoners; and many consultations were held about purchasing the liberty of their young king, by putting the fugitives into Henry's hands. The nation in general had a high opinion of the regent's abilities, but they were jealous of his views, and unalterably fixed in their allegiance to James. At this time, the lord Fleming, who had generously received and protected the earl of Northumberland, discovered the intention of the royalists to deliver up that nobleman to Henry. He apprised Northumberland of his danger, and assisted him and the lord Bardolph to escape to Wales. The escape of the earl of Northumberland out of Scotland was far from being disagreeable to the duke of Albany, as the royalists had now no pledge whom they could exchange for their king. Henry, on the other hand, omitted nothing that could soften the captivity of James, or prevent the Scots from declaring war; but those civilities could not make the people easy, while their king was a prisoner. The duke of Albany was forced to give way to their spirit, and, though the truce was still subsisting, he raised an army to deliver James. Henry, at the same time, summoned all his military tenants to take arms. But the regent found means to enter into a negotiation with Henry, who was equally desirous of peace; and the truce was accordingly prolonged for a year, from the end of September, during which time all the differences between the two nations were to be settled. In

^c Buchanan.

consequence of this agreement, Rothesay, king at arms, was appointed commissary-general for the king and kingdom of Scotland, and repaired in that quality to the court of England. He there produced the record of the truce, which was subsisting when James was made prisoner, and which provided, at the same time, for the free navigation of the Scots: and demanded justice upon the persons who had made prize of the ship that carried James and his attendants. Henry, the most plausible and moderate prince of his time, was so far from contradicting either the facts or the principles stated by Rothesay, that he ordered justice to be done to the Scots, and that the truth of Rothesay's allegations should be examined into. But this was productive of no effect: the English had their complaints as well as the Scots, and the claims of both were so intricate, that the examination was broke off; but, at the same time, the truce was prolonged.

After the suppression of the earl of Northumberland's rebellion, James was brought from the Tower to the English court, where he was treated by Henry with extraordinary respect. It appears by a record, that two gentlemen having fought long and valiantly, in single combat, in presence of the court, Henry ordered them to desist, at the intreaty of his most dear cousin the king of Scotland, as he is called, and that of his two sons. After this we find him residing at Croydon, a village in the county of Surry. Here he enjoyed the company of the most ingenious and learned men in England, and probably became acquainted with Chaucer, the celebrated father of English poetry. Upon the expiration of the truce this year, it was renewed until Easter, 1409. Scotland, all this time, was equally tranquil and prosperous under the regent's wife administration; and the Scots in general seemed no way disposed to embroil themselves with Henry on account of their prisoners in England. When the truce expired, the regent refused to renew it; and the people of Teviotdale took and demolished the castle of Jedburgh, which had been in possession of the English ever since the battle of Durham. The regent immediately ordered the place to be demolished, which was done with great difficulty, on account of the hardness of the **cement**, and the thickness of the walls. This service was thought to be of so much importance, that the regent convened at Perth an assembly of the states, to deliberate how to pay the captors, and to enable them to keep the field. From this time, until the death of Henry IV. hostilities

A.D. 1408.

*Treatment
of James.**Jedburgh
castle taken
and dem-
olished.*

hostilities were renewed occasionally between England and Scotland, but were attended with no transaction of importance.

A.D 1413

Upon the accession of Henry V. of England to that crown, the whole of his conduct, both public and private, became very different from what it had been while he was prince of Wales. Though he had lived in great friendship with James, yet one of the first acts of his government was to order that prince, the earl of Fife, the lord William Douglas of Dalkeith, and William Giffard, esq. to be confined in the Tower of London, lest they should take advantage of the public confusion upon his father's death. This year three different negociations ensued, for the ransom of James; a proof how much the Scots were desirous of their king's restoration. The regent was equally solicitous about the redemption of his son, the earl of Fife. For this purpose he sent his brother, the earl of Buchan to treat of his ransom, with those of some other friends. He likewise had a commission to renew or prolong the truce; and a new one was concluded, to last only to the 1st of June, 1414. After all negociations for farther prolongation of the truce, or for the ransom of James, were at an end, that prince was, by Henry's orders, carried, in the month of August, 1414, from the Tower of London to the castle of Windsor. We find, at the same time, that the sum of three hundred pounds was issued out of the exchequer of England for his maintenance, and that of the earl of Fife and some others. This allowance is a full proof that James was not properly supplied by the regent during his captivity, and accounts, in some degree, for the animosity which he afterwards discovered against the family of that prince.

The cessation of hostilities between Henry and France brought on a fresh treaty concerning the ransom of James. He had been lately put into the custody of sir John Pelham, one of the worthiest knights in England, who was allowed seven hundred pounds a-year for his maintenance. The treaty for his ransom advanced so far, in 1416, that Henry agreed to his visiting Scotland, upon condition of his forfeiting a hundred thousand pounds sterling, if he did not return by a certain day. Hostages were required for the performance, and such were accordingly named; but the flattering prospect which Henry had of conquering France, induced him to discontinue this treaty; and next year a new war broke out between the two neighbouring kingdoms.

The

The Scottish army was divided into two bodies; one, under the duke of Albany, undertook the siege of Berwick; and the other, under the earl of Douglas, that of Roxburgh. The duke of Bedford, then regent of England in Henry's absence, assembled, according to the historians of both nations, an army of a hundred thousand men, of whom forty thousand are said to have been regular, well disciplined troops. But it is probable those numbers were exaggerated, in order to daunt the Scots. The archbishop of York, with the earl of Westmoreland, served under the regent- duke of England; and the earl of Northumberland was intrusted with a division of the army against the Scots, who were employed in the siege of Berwick, which made a very gallant defence. The regent of Scotland, hearing of the earl's approach, abandoned his enterprize, and retreated towards Scotland. Such are the imperfect accounts we have of this attempt, which was so ill concerted, that the common people of Scotland called it the *folle-raïd*, or the *foolish expedition*.^a

A.D. 1417.
A new war.

On the 3d of September, 1420, died, in the castle of Stirling, in the eightieth year of his age, the regent- duke of Albany, who possessed in an eminent degree the qualifications for government; and, had it not been for his criminal conduct in the murder of his nephew, the duke of Rothefay, he might have retained with posterity the character of a wise and virtuous prince. Such was the veneration of the people for his memory, that the post of regent was conferred upon his son Murdoc, though no way qualified for the station.^c

Death of the duke of Albany.

He is succeeded by his son Murdoc.

C H A P. IV.

From the Death of the Duke of Albany, to the Death of James V.

WHILE Henry was engaged in the war in France, he sent for reinforcements from England, under his brother, the duke of Bedford, who, by his orders, brought over with him, at the same time, the king of Scotland. Upon James's arrival at the English camp before Melun, Henry put him in mind of the obligations he lay under to himself and his father, and acquainted him that he might now purchase his liberty, if he would publish an order, under his hand, requiring all the Scots

^a Ford; Chron. Dun.

^c Idem.

Magnanimity of James.

in the French service immediately to depart that kingdom. The answer of James, in this trying situation, was worthy of a polite; and, at the same time, a magnanimous prince. It was to the following effect: "that as to the entertainment he had received, thanks and gratitude were all the retribution which his capacity suffered him to make: that his majesty's request was unreasonable, and his subjects would look upon it as the effects of compulsion. But, supposing himself to be free, his majesty must have the meanest opinion of him, if he should put any consideration in competition with the happiness of his people: and he conjured Henry not to require of him submissions which would dishonour his character, and belye the education and the noble examples he had received at the English court."

Henry appeared ashamed to press his unmanly request farther; but failed not to make all the advantages he could of his royal prisoner, whom he brought back with him to England the following year.

The internal affairs of Scotland were at this time in a miserable situation. The regent-duke had neither spirit nor abilities for governing even his own family. The nation became more uneasy than ever at the detention of their king in England; and being no longer influenced by the great capacity of the late regent, so total an anarchy prevailed all over the kingdom, that Murdoc thought he had now no safety but in recalling James. He resolved therefore to prosecute this measure, in which he was assisted by the arrival of his brother the constable, and the disposition of the earl of Douglas. The regent-duke of Bedford was become, by this time, sensible of his brother's mistaken conduct towards the Scots; and that it was impossible for the English affairs in France to prosper, if Charles should continue to receive fresh reinforcements from Scotland. He had, in the beginning of his regency, treated the Scots whom he found in arms on the side of Charles with the same severity that had been practised by Henry; but being now convinced of his error, he would immediately have set James at liberty, had it been in his power; but he was obliged to take the sense of the English council on that measure. James was now highly caressed, and at his own liberty, within certain bounds. The English even consulted him about the manner of conducting the treaty for his ransom. It was agreed, that commissioners from Scotland should have an interview with their captive king at Pomfret. While James was preparing

A.D. 1423.

The duke of Bedford favours James.

preparing for his journey thither, his equipages and attendants were increased to those befitting a sovereign; and he received from the English treasury a present of a hundred pounds, for his private expences. In this meeting at Pomfret, James acted a kind of mediator between the English and his own subjects, to whom he fully laid himself open. But, in the mean time, the English regency issued a commission for settling the terms upon which James was to be restored, if he and his commissioners should lay a proper foundation for such a treaty. The instructions received by the English commissioners on this occasion are extremely circumstantial, and proceed so far, as even to offer their assistance to the Scottish king, in procuring for him a matrimonial alliance with any of the women of England^f.

Meeting at Pomfret.

It appears from these instructions, that the English fought, at this time, to buy the friendship of the Scots almost at any rate. They even dropt all demands of ransom for James, because these might have brought on disputes concerning the legality of his capture and detention, which they were willing to avoid. Nothing definitive, however, was concluded at this convention; but it was agreed that another meeting should be held at York instead of Pomfret. This meeting accordingly took place; and the commissioners at last came to an agreement, of which the principal article was, that the king of Scotland, and his heirs, as an equivalent for his entertainment while in England, should pay to the king of England, and his heirs, at London, in the church of St. Paul, by equal installments, the sum of forty thousand pounds sterling^g.

Treaty about James's ransom.

James, it is probable, had already fixed his choice upon the lady Joan, daughter to the late earl of Somerset, who was son to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, by his second marriage; but he made his people the compliment, not only of consulting their opinion, but of concluding the match. The commissioners, after their agreement at York, proceeded to London, where they ratified the former articles, and undertook for their king, that he should deliver his hostages to the king of England's officers, in the city of Durham, before the last day of the ensuing month of March: that he should also deliver to the said officers four obligatory letters, for the whole sum of forty thousand pounds, from the four burghs of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen: that he should

Proposal for James's marriage.

^f Heming. Trivet.

^g Idem. Buchanan.

give his own obligatory letter to the same purpose, before his removing from Durham, and should renew the same four days after his being arrived in his own kingdom: that the hostages might be changed from time to time for others of the same fortune and quality: that if any of them should die in England, others should be sent thither in their room; and that while they continued to stay in England, they should live at their own charges.

His marriage celebrated.

The marriage of James with the lady Joan Beaufort, daughter of the duke of Somerset, was performed in the priory of St. Mary Overy, in Southwark, on the 1st or 2d of February, 1424; the young king of England, with the consent of his council, having presented James with a suit of cloth of gold for the marriage ceremony; and next day he received a legal discharge of ten thousand pounds, to be deducted from the forty thousand pounds, as the marriage-portion of the king of England's dear cousin Joan. This ceremony being performed, James and his queen set out for Durham, where the hostages were waiting. The delivery of them was accordingly executed: and, considering the number of them which was required by the English, it must be acknowledged, that, notwithstanding the show of generosity, they appear to have been mercenary through the whole transaction. Instead of endeavouring to bind James by the ties of honour and gratitude, they required him, after his arrival at Durham, where his hostages were waiting, to give in the valuation of the yearly rents of their estates. They even obliged James to provide a set of substitutes, or secondary hostages, who were to supply their principals in case of death, or other accident. When such a number of illustrious noblemen and gentlemen, thus voluntarily made a resignation of their liberties, and others were emulous of that honour, such a public spirit could only proceed from the sense they had, that the return of James to his native dominions was the only means of delivering their country from the anarchy under which she groaned, through the weakness of the regent.

James arrives in Scotland, and is crowned at Scone.

James was, by orders of the court of England, attended to his own dominions with great pomp, by the earl of Northumberland, and the chief of the northern nobility. Upon his arrival at Edinburgh, where he kept his Easter, he was received with inexpressible joy by his subjects; and hymns of thanksgiving were sung in the churches for his deliverance. On the 20th of April he was crowned at Scone, Murdoc, duke of Albany, late regent, having, as being earl of Fife, placed him in the

royal

royal chair, while the bishop of St. Andrew's performed the ceremony of anointing and crowning him and his queen ^b.

James soon perceived the dreadful effects of remissness and corruption, in the late administration. The great maxim of the regent, Robert, had been to maintain himself in power by exempting the lower ranks of subjects from taxes of every kind. Murdoc had continued the same conduct; but he was destitute of his father's abilities and authority in restraining the people from licentiousness; so that James, upon his return, found Scotland one continued scene of oppression and rapine. To remove so many complicated evils, required the most vigorous exertion. The king knew that he would be supported by his great subjects, who were not themselves oppressors; and after his coronation he called a parliament, which met on the 26th of May. The first deliberation of the assembly naturally was, how to pay the money for the king's coitage, as it was called, and to redeem their hostages from England. The assembly was unanimous in this measure, and a large taxation was ordered ⁱ.

If we are to believe Bower, James returned to Scotland with strong prepossessions against the Albany family; for so early as the 13th of May, 1425, he ordered Walter Stuart, the late regent's eldest son, with Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, (to whose family his ancestors had been so much obliged), and Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock, to be arrested in the castle of Edinburgh, whence the first was sent close prisoner to the island of Bass; the other two were set at liberty. On the 12th of March, James held his second parliament at Perth, where he ordered four and twenty persons of great distinction, peers and commoners, to be arrested. James, in imprisoning so many illustrious subjects, meant to show his people his impartiality in bringing offenders to justice; but he seems in this respect to have carried matters too far; nor can his conduct be vindicated, otherwise than by supposing, that the temper of the times absolutely required such a proceeding.

The very day the duke of Albany was arrested, James seized upon all his houses and castles, particularly Falkland in Fife, and Down in Monteith; whence he ordered the duchess of Albany to be carried prisoner to the castle of Tantallon. Those severe proceedings were resented by no public commotion at the time; and all the prisoners

Conduct of James after his restoration.

His severity of government.

He extirpates the Albany family,

^b Fordun.

ⁱ Ibid. Buchanan.

soon obtained their liberty, except the duke of Albany, his two sons, Walter and Alexander, who had been knighted by the king at his coronation, and the earl of Lenox, the duke's father-in-law. The Scottish historians have not mentioned the precise crimes that were laid to the charge of those illustrious delinquents; but it is probable that they were indicted for acts of misgovernment during the two last regencies. Perhaps the following incident contributed not a little to this measure: James, a younger son of the duke of Albany, had been left at liberty, because he had been guilty of nothing that could make him an object of public justice. Being under the direction of Finlay, bishop of Argyle, formerly his father's secretary, he raised a force in the Highlands; and on the 3d of May set on fire the town of Dumbarton, where he put to the sword thirty-two of the inhabitants, among whom was sir John Stuart of Dundonald, surnamed the Red, and natural son to Robert II. James, upon this, proclaimed young Stuart a traitor; and the latter, being hard pressed, was forced, with the bishop, his governor, to fly to Ireland. The wife of the lord Walter Stuart took refuge there likewise. This insurrection affords a strong proof of the necessity James was under of humbling the lawless leaders of the Highlanders during the late regency, since even a stripling could lead them into the field against the legal government, of a subordination to which they seem to have had no idea^k.

On the approach of the trial of the duke of Albany's two sons, and the earl of Lenox, James repaired to Stirling, whither the prisoners had been conveyed, and ordered their trial to be conducted in the most solemn manner. Their juries consisted of the most illustrious personages of the kingdom, some of them their friends and relations.

*who are
tried and
condemned:*

James, to give the trial the greater solemnity, thought proper to preside in it himself, sitting on his throne, and dressed in his royal robes, with the crown and sceptre. The prisoners being found guilty, the young noblemen, Walter and Alexander Stuart (the former said to have possessed every amiable accomplishment of body and mind) were carried from the place of their trial, to a rock opposite to the castle of Stirling, where their heads were struck off; as next day were those of the duke of Albany, and the earl of Lenox. The shortness of the time be-

^k Buchanan.

tween the trial and execution, is to be imputed to the danger which might have arisen from an insurrection of their numerous followers and dependents.

Buchanan mentions a tradition, which, if founded on fact, reflects great dishonour on the memory of James. It is, that the king sent to the countess the heads of her father, husband, and two sons; from the frivolous pretext, that, in the bitterness of her grief, she might throw out some expressions which might give farther light into their crimes, and those of their accomplices. The story proceeds, that she beheld the ghastly spectacle without emotion, and calmly said, that if the charges against the criminals were proved, they deserved their punishment. Though this story seems as improbable as it is inconsistent with humanity, it is hard to say what the more than savage enmities which prevailed among the great families of Scotland, in those days, might produce; and the actors might plead the royal authority for their sanction.

The next measure which James pursued, was to extinguish the remains of Stuart's rebellion; which being effected, he proceeded with great spirit and firmness in the reformation of his kingdom, and in striking at the root of all its grievances. But in this he wisely did nothing without consulting his parliament. The forming associations among subjects was the great evil of those days, and had been provided against by acts passed under David, and Robert the First. The like acts had passed against abettors of rebels, and leasing-makers; namely, those who were guilty of lese-majesty, or wounding it by false reports; but the licentiousness of the times having suffered all those statutes to become obsolete, they were revived and confirmed in the first parliament convened by James; and they sufficiently point out the grounds of the late prosecutions. A.D. 1426.

James next ordered the prisons to be opened, for the delivery of all less criminals, who, by the authority of their superiors, might have been drawn into acts of treason, without knowing them to be such; and he admitted them to favour, on their promising to conform themselves to the laws for the future. He then applied his attention to the cultivation of learning, arts, and sciences, among his subjects. A university had been founded at St. Andrew's some years before, and this the king took under his immediate protection. He had, during his confinement in England, but too much leisure for study; and he ap-

*Civil con-
duct of
James.*

pears to have been the most accomplished prince of that age, in all the branches of literature then cultivated. He was at great pains in enquiring into the characters and learning of the several professors, and often honoured their public exercises with his presence. He even kept a diary, in which he wrote down the names of all the learned men who he thought were deserving of preferment; and reprov'd with great freedom those of the clergy who lived unsuitably to their character; and of such the late anarchy had introduced too many into Scotland. Their revenues were far above the proportion of property that ought to have been allotted them. Their houses were distinguished for the beauty of their situations, the sumptuousness of their building, the elegance and culture of their gardens, and the fertility of their lands. All those circumstances naturally introduced luxury among the Scottish clergy; and James, to give them an example of abstinence, brought over Carthusian monks, one of the severest orders in the church of Rome, for whom he endowed at Perth a monastery, which he sometimes made his residence.

The arts and sciences were no less the objects of James's attention than divinity. In poetry, he was an author; of music he was one of the best judges and composers of his time; and there is reason to believe, that he was the father of that elegant simplicity, for which the ancient Scottish music is celebrated. He introduced organs into his chapels, and the cathedral churches of the kingdom, with a much better style of architecture, both civil and ecclesiastical.

James did not restrict his cares to the fine arts; he encouraged the mechanical, and those which were useful to society. Nothing can give us a higher idea of his government, and his genius for civil policy, than the proceedings of his parliament in 1427. He had observed, that, in the lower class of people, custom took place of law; that poverty was not considered as a misfortune, nor barbarity as a reproach; because the first might be removed by depredations, and the latter protected by violence. To have punished the offenders, would have been unjust, because, while offending, they thought themselves in the way of their duty; and such was their ignorance, that they imagined no shame equal to that of procuring a living by honest industry. This, however, was not the picture

of the whole of Scotland. Its lowland provinces, in general, were, at this time, as well civilized as those of any country in Europe; but in the Highlands, and towards the borders of them, the case was otherwise; and it was chiefly for the inhabitants of those parts that James's regulations were intended. In the parliament last mentioned, many excellent statutes were made against public abuses. The observation of former laws was enforced, and the exportation of money strictly prohibited. Laws were enacted against the irregular and corrupt practices of the courts of justice, and against all kinds of frays, broils, quarrels, and fighting. Bridges and ferries were established, with inns, and other conveniencies for travelling. Encouragement was given to agriculture, as well as to trade and manufactures. Uniformity was introduced into weights and measures; and the wages of workmen and labourers of every kind were regulated by a certain standard. Rewards were decreed, not only to industry, but to the exercise of arms. The judges were put above the temptation of bribes; and, in a word, nothing was omitted, that could contribute to the reformation of the kingdom.

The execution of so many salutary provisions came next under the deliberation of James and his parliament. It was impossible, during the relaxation of civil authority in the Highlands, to trust it to the officers of justice; and therefore it was thought expedient that every land-holder should have a justiciary power within his own estate, according to the ancient constitutions of the kingdom; but they were obliged to reside on the same, either by themselves or their friends. They were to rebuild, or repair all their manors, castles, and forts, and to superintend the civilization of their tenants, for whose conduct they were made partly answerable. The county of Inverness being supposed to be the seat of barbarism in Scotland, and the great source of violence in the kingdom, James determined to visit it in person; having first given orders for thoroughly repairing and fortifying the castle in the principal town. Upon his arrival in that country, he found its barbarism exceeded all the reports which he had heard. The inhabitants had no idea of government, but under their petty chieftains, who subsisted by rapine, which they looked upon as law; and nothing was more common, in the perpetration of those acts, than bloodshed and murder. James, thinking it equally unjust and dangerous to make use of force, in suppressing those enormities, had recourse to policy. He received their chieftains with the greatest affability; and they were so much pleased with

His political institutions.

his behaviour, that they repaired in crowds to the castle of Inverness, where he kept his court. Having found means to inform himself of the chief delinquents, he, all of a sudden, arrested forty of them; but of this number, only three of the most dangerous were executed. The rest were committed to prison, whence some of them were dismissed upon promise of amendment. This exercise of justice was the more extraordinary, as some of those chieftains could bring from a thousand to two thousand men, into the field.

Among others who were made prisoners, while James remained at Inverness, was Alexander, lord of the Isles, and earl of Ross, the son of him who had fought the battle of Harlaw. Perhaps the power of this nobleman was his chief crime. He had obtained peaceable possession of his earldom, and was one of the assizers who sat upon the duke of Albany and his sons; nor does it appear that he was charged with any unlawful correspondence, or acts of treason. He was, however, sent prisoner to Perth, where several misdemeanors were proved against him; but as they were not more heinous than those commonly practised by other chieftains, he received his pardon, and James dismissed him with repeated and kind admonitions for his future amendment. The affront which the earl had received, however, was afterwards productive of serious consequences.

The hostages in England remained all this time, without any effectual measure being taken for their deliverance. The success of the auditors appointed to receive the taxes imposed for redeeming them, after the first year of their collection, had proved but indifferent. The common people, upon whom the weight of the taxation fell, exclaimed against it, and remonstrated upon their inability to discharge their assessments. There was in the kingdom, it is true, plenty of corn, and the other necessities of life; but the people could not convert them into ready money, in which the payments were to be made. The crown-revenues had been so dissipated, that it was impossible to derive any resource from that quarter; and notwithstanding the confiscated estates had lately devolved to the king, it was with difficulty that he could support, either the civil government, or the dignity of his station. It was in vain to have recourse to the tax which had been imposed; for the lower people declared, that they neither could nor would pay it. The collection of it was therefore suspended, to prevent a civil war.

James, to put the best face he could upon his inability to make the stipulated payments, sent this year to England the bishop of Murray, to complain to the regency of certain infractions of the truce; and urging, that, having concluded a perpetual peace with the late king of England, Henry V. the same ought to take place. This was doubtless an extraordinary allegation, and seems to have been treated, however, very seriously by the English council; and polite letters were sent, in the name of young Henry, to James, one in November, and another in December, addressed to "the most high and potent prince James, by the grace of God, king of Scotland." They contained some slight complaints, that the debt due from James had not been paid; and demanded that certain English prisoners, who had been taken in a Spanish ship on the coast of Ireland, and brought to Scotland, might be set at liberty. That James was not in earnest in the embassy he sent by the bishop of Murray, appears from his renewing the league between France and Scotland in the beginning of the year 1428, though the truce with England was not then expired^m.

Transactions with England,

A.D. 1428.

A treaty concluded this year, between Scotland and France, alarmed the court of England so much, that the latter demanded a conference between James and cardinal Beaufort, upon the borders of the two kingdoms; but it does not clearly appear that ever the interview took place.

The earl of Ross was all this time harbouring in his breast the thoughts of vengeance for his imprisonment; but he seems not to have been abetted, as usual, by the court of England. James, who kept an eye upon his conduct, had sent him repeated admonitions to desist from his seditious practices, but all to no purpose; for, towards the end of the preceding year, he burnt the town of Inverness, and attempted likewise the castle. He was then at the head of ten thousand men; but James, well knowing that many of them were forced into his service, marched against him at the head of an inferior body; and the clans Chattan and Cameron, deserting the earl, immediately joined the royal standard. The earl, upon this, retired to Lochaber, and thence to the Isles, whither the king could not pursue him. This year however, James, in imitation of what was commonly practised in England, prevailed with his parliament to pass an act, by

A.D. 1430.

The earl of Ross subdued, but pardoned.

^m Rymer, vol. ii p. 382.

which all the barons and lords, whose lands were contiguous to the Western Sea, but especially such as had estates opposite to the Isles, were enjoined to fit out a certain number of galleys, by the month of May, 1431.

Those vigorous measures intimidated the haughty lord of the Isles, and he employed private agents to make his peace with James, who would listen to no terms, unless the earl should unconditionally throw himself at his feet; which he at last resolved to do. For this purpose he came privately to Edinburgh; and while the king and queen were at their devotion, in the church of Holyrood-house, he, without any other covering than his shirt and drawers, presented himself before the king, to whom he offered his naked sword. The queen and nobility interceding, James granted him his life; but ordered him to be sent a prisoner to the castle of Tantallon, while his mother was shut up in the island of Inchcolm, in the Forth^a.

A.D. 1443.

*Civil
broils.*

Scotland, even by this time, seems to have partly recovered from the hideous state in which it was at the period of James's restoration. For, in a parliament held at Perth this year, a new tax, notwithstanding the bad success of the former, was imposed upon all the lands in the kingdom. Mean time, it was agreed upon, between the two nations, that the truce with England should be prolonged until the first of May, 1436. This truce left James at liberty to turn his whole attention to suppress the disorders in the Highlands. The clan Chattan, or Mackintoshes, had quarrelled with the Camerons, and fought on Palm Sunday with such animosity, that they almost exterminated each other. The earls of Caithness and Marr, then the royal lieutenants in those parts, marched to Lochaber, to defend it from an invasion threatened by one Donald Balloc, a kinsman and kind of deputy to the earl of Ross. He thought the honour of his family wounded by that earl's imprisonment; and instead of suffering the king's lieutenants to attack him in the Isles, he passed over to the continent to offer them battle. The two earls, despising the number and discipline of his men, were so much off their guard, that they suffered themselves to be surprised and defeated by the rebels. The earl of Caithness, and sixteen gentlemen, with a considerable number of common men, were killed, and the earl of Marr was obliged to save himself by flight. Donald, naturally fierce and bloody, became more so by

^a Fordum, Abercromby.

this advantage. He destroyed Lochaber and the adjacent country with fire and sword, so that James, to quell the revolt, was induced to take the field in person. No sooner were the rebels informed that he was on his march, than their leaders, who had been actuated only by the desire of plunder, came and threw themselves at his feet, and implored his pardon. James had his reasons for not pushing them to extremities. He obliged them to give him hostages for the performance of their duty, and to apprehend and bring in prisoners about three hundred of the most notorious criminals among their associates; whom, upon being delivered up, he immediately ordered to be hanged.

The tranquillity of Scotland being in a great measure established, and the success of the English arms declining in France, James, in the beginning of the year 1437, formed the design of retaking Roxburgh and Berwick. Collecting, therefore, a great army, he laid siege to the former of those places; but from this period he seems to have been abandoned both by his good fortune and his genius. The castle was bravely defended by sir Ralph Grey, but was on the point of surrendering, when the queen of Scotland arrived in the camp, with intelligence to her husband of a conspiracy being formed against him by the nobility. James was not ignorant of the causes of their discontent; but he acted on this occasion inconsistently with the principles of sound policy. As if the conspirators had been in his own camp, he immediately dismissed his army, and hastened, with a few chosen domestics, to his favourite retirement, a Dominican convent at Perth; where he had not even reserved a body-guard for his person. While he was thus living in the most perfect security, one of his cup-bearers, Walter Straton, as the king was at supper, went to bring him some wine; when perceiving armed men in the passage, he gave the alarm, but not in time to save the king. The conspirators immediately killed Straton; and Catharine Douglas, one of the queen's maids of honour, ran to bolt the door which led to the royal chamber, but finding the bar gone, she heroically thrust her arm into the staple, where the bone was instantly broken, and the conspirators, after murdering Patrick Dunbar, a brother of the late earl of March, who opposed them, rushed into the anti-chamber. Bursting into the room where the king

A.D. 1437.

James besieges Roxburgh.

Murder of the king.

and queen were at supper ; James made all the defence he could against the assassins, and the queen received two wounds, interposing herself between their daggers and his body. At last the assassins effected their purpose, and James expired under the fatal accumulation of twenty-eight wounds^p.

This excellent prince had become unpopular towards the end of his reign ; but his tragical fate appears to have been entirely owing to family discontents, in which neither the nation, nor the bulk of the great land-holders, had any concern. The three conspirators were the earl of Athol, Robert Graham, and the earl of Athol's grandson and heir. The earl was the youngest son of Robert the Second, by his second wife, Euphame Ross, and he always, however unjustly, considered the descendants of that prince's first marriage as spurious. Robert Graham was discontented on account of his nephew's losing the estate and honours of Strathern. This man had been for some time at the head of a set of out-laws, a party of whom he is said to have brought down in the night-time to Perth, and posted them in the neighbourhood of the Dominican convent, where James lodged. The earl of Athol's grandson was one of the king's domestics. Such were the assassins who perpetrated the murder of this accomplished and virtuous monarch, in the forty-fourth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign, dating it from his restoration. The assassins were in a short time apprehended, and executed in such a manner, as shews the nation to have entertained the highest resentment for their crime.

James was a prince of abilities, and, in general, conducted his operations with prudence. If he endeavoured to throw off the constitutional restraints upon his prerogative, there is reason to believe, from the whole tenor of his conduct, that his views were invariably directed to the good of his people. But it was the misfortune of James, that his maxims and manners were too refined for the age in which he lived.

He was buried, according to Abercromby, in the church of the Chartreux at Perth, and left behind him one son, king James II. and five daughters ; Margaret, married to Lewis, dauphin, afterwards king of France, by the name of Lewis XI. Isabel, to Francis duke of Brittany ; Jean, who was promised to the eldest son and heir of the duke of Savoy, and thrice married, first to James

earl of Angus, then to Alexander earl of Huntley, and lastly to James earl of Morton; Helenor, married to Sigismund, duke, or, according to others, archduke of Austria; and Mary, to John, lord of Campvere and Zealand.

J A M E S II.

THIS prince, when he succeeded to the throne, was only seven years of age; and the untimely death of the late king, who had prescribed no form of regency, rendered the settlement of the government a matter as difficult as it was important. Archibald earl of Douglas, and duke of Touraine, was by far the greatest subject in the kingdom; but the people were disgusted with regencies, and that nobleman had been no favourite during the late reign. It appears that the parliament of Scotland took upon itself the settlement of the government during the minority; and that the struggles which happened afterwards between Crichton the chancellor, and Levingston the governor of the kingdom, were the effects of party and faction.

A.D. 1437.

James II.

A.D. 1438.

The late king, immediately before his death, had appointed commissioners to negotiate a truce with England; and this was accordingly concluded for nine years, from the first of May, 1438, to the first of May, 1447. The limits of the two kingdoms were afterwards settled by the same commissioners.

About this time died Archibald earl of Douglas, and he was succeeded by his son William, a nobleman of a turbulent disposition; so that the nobility of Scotland thought it high time to provide for the future government of their country. The parliament appointed sir Alexander Levingston, of Callendar, to be governor of the kingdom, that is, to have the executive power, while sir William Crichton, as chancellor, had the direction of the courts of law and justice. This partition of power proved extremely unfortunate for the public. The governor and chancellor quarrelled; the latter took possession of the king's person and the castle of Edinburgh, to neither of which he had any right; but the former had on his side the queen-mother, a woman of intrigue and spirit. Her son was shut up in the castle of Edinburgh; and in a short time there was no appearance either of law or government in Scotland. The governor's edicts were counteracted

The administration of Scotland.

counteracted by those of the chancellor under the king's name; and those who obeyed the chancellor were punished by the governor; while the earl of Douglas, with his numerous retainers and dependants, was a declared enemy to both parties, whom he equally sought to destroy.

*The young
king stolen
away by
his mother.*

The queen-mother demanded access to her son, a request which Crichton could find no pretence of denying her; and she was accordingly admitted with a small train into the castle of Edinburgh. She played her part so well, and dissembled with so much art, that the chancellor, imagining she had become a convert to his cause, treated her with unbounded confidence, and suffered her at all hours to have free access to her son's person. Pretending that she had avowed a pilgrimage to the White Church of Buchan, she recommended the care of the young prince, until her return, to the chancellor, in the most pathetic terms; but, in the mean time, she secretly sent him, packed up in a cloaths-chest, to Leith; and both she and her son were received at Stirling by the governor, before the escape was known. As every thing had been managed in concert with Levingston, he immediately called together his friends, and, laying before them the arbitrary conduct of the chancellor, it was resolved to besiege him in the castle of Edinburgh; the queen promising to open her own granaries for the use of the army. The chancellor, foreseeing the storm that was likely to fall upon him, endeavoured to prevent it by applying to the earl of Douglas. That haughty nobleman, disdaining all coalition, declared his intention to exterminate both parties. The siege of Edinburgh castle being formed, the chancellor demanded a parley, and to have a personal interview with the governor; which the latter, who was no stranger to the designs of Douglas, agreed to. In such a state of affairs, a reconciliation between the two rivals was a matter of little difficulty. Common danger united them in a common cause. And the chancellor, resigning to the other the custody of the castle and the king's person, the two competitors, with the warmest professions of duty and loyalty, swore an inviolable friendship for each other. Next day, the king cemented their union, by confirming both of them in their respective charges.

A.D. 1440.

*Civil com-
motions.*

The lawless example of the earl of Douglas encouraged the other great landholders to gratify their private animosities, sometimes at the expence of their honour as well as their humanity. The common people assumed the same

same privilege of licentiousness as their superiors. Rapine and murder became every where frequent. At last, all the labouring hands in the kingdom being engaged in domestic broils, none were left for agriculture; and there ensued a terrible famine, attended as usual with a pestilence. James was now about ten years of age; and the wisest part of the kingdom agreed, that the public distresses were owing to a total disrespect of the royal authority. The young earl of Douglas never had fewer than a thousand, and sometimes two thousand horse in his train; so that none was found hardy enough to controul him. He pretended to be independent of the crown and the courts of law; that he had a power of judicature upon his own large estates; and that he was entitled to the exercise of royal power. In consequence of this he issued his orders, gave protections to thieves and murderers, affected to brave the king, made knights, and, according to some writers, even noblemen, of his own dependents, with a power of sitting in parliament.

The queen-mother was not wholly blameless in respect of those abuses. She had fallen in love with, and married, sir James Stuart, commonly called the Black Knight of Lorn, brother to the lord of that title, and a descendant of the house of Darnley. Her affection for her husband renewed her intrigues in the state; and not finding a ready compliance in the governor, her interest inclined towards the party of the Douglasses. The governor sought to strengthen his authority by restoring the exercise of civil power, and the reverence due to the sovereign. The conduct of the lord Callendar was, in other respects, not so defensible, either as to prudence or policy. Upon the queen's expressing a desire that her husband might be admitted to some share of the administration, the governor threw both him and his brother, the lord Lorn, into prison, upon a charge of undutiful practices against the state, and abetting the earl of Douglas in his enormities. The queen, enraged at this treatment of her husband, was herself confined in a mean apartment within the castle of Stirling; and a convention of the states was called, to determine how to proceed against her. The case being so delicate and unprecedented, affords reason to believe, that the governor would not have carried matters to such extremity, had he not had strong evidence of her illegal conduct. She was even

Marriage of the queen mother.

The queen-dowager and her husband imprisoned, but released.

obliged to dissemble her resentment, by making, before the states, an open profession that she was entirely innocent of her husband's practices, and that she would for the future be careful to behave as a peaceable and dutiful subject to the laws and the sovereign. Upon her making this declaration she was released, as were her husband and his brother; being bailed by the chancellor and the lord Gordon, who became sureties for their good behaviour, in the penalty of four thousand marks.

After this period, the governor is accused of many arbitrary and partial acts of power. And indeed, if we consider his situation, and the violence of the parties which then divided the kingdom, it was next to impossible, consistently with his own safety, to be guided by rules of moderation. The chancellor displeased at the small regard which the governor paid to his person and dignity, secretly connected himself with the queen-mother; but, in the mean time, he remained at Edinburgh. The king and his mother continued at Stirling, where the governor, on pretence of consulting the public safety, and that of the king's person, maintained a strong guard; part of which attended James in his juvenile exercises and diversions. The queen-mother did not fail to represent this to her son as a restraint upon his liberty; and obtained his consent to put himself into the chancellor's hands. The latter, who was a man of activity and courage, knew how to avail himself of this permission; and crossing the Forth in the dark with a strong body of horse, they surrounded the king as he was hunting next morning by break of day. It was easy to perceive, from the behaviour of James, that he was no stranger to the chancellor's attempt; but some of the king's guard offering to dispute the possession of his person, sir William Levingstone, the governor's eldest son, nobly restrained them, and suffered the king to depart quietly. This surprisal happened on a day when the governor was absent from Stirling; and the chancellor, to make sure of his royal acquisition, entered Edinburgh at the head of four thousand horse, where the king and he were received by the citizens with loud acclamations of joy^s.

*The king
carried
from Stir-
ling.*

*Wise con-
duct of
Levingston.*

Levingston, on this occasion, acted the part of a true patriot. Instead of seeking revenge, or of having recourse to the earl of Douglas, he betrayed no concern at what had happened, but followed the dictates of plain

ſenſe; offering the chancellor his friendſhip, by the mediation of the biſhops of Aberdeen and Murray, two venerable prelates, who happened to be then at Edinburgh. The chancellor readily accepted the offer: the governor magnanimouſly came to Edinburgh as a private nobleman; with very few attendants; and every thing having been previously ſettled by the two prelates, he had an interview with his rival in St. Giles's church, where all differences between them were terminated in an amicable manner. It was agreed, that the cuſtody of the king's perſon ſhould remain with the chancellor, and that the adminiſtration of the government ſhould be continued with the lord Callendar; and, in caſe of any difficulties being ſtarted, that they ſhould be referred to a friendly arbitration.

The young earl of Douglas continued to brave both parties. As if he had been a ſovereign prince, he demanded of the French king, by his ambaffadors, Malcolm Fleming, of Cumbernauld, and Allen Lawder, the inveſtiture of the ſovereignty of Touraine; which, being readily granted him, ſerved to increaſe his pride and insolence. The firſt meaſure of the two great officers of ſtate, after their accommodation, was the holding a parliament at Edinburgh, for redreſſing the public diſorders occaſioned by the earl of Douglas; and encouragement was given for all perſons who had been injured to make their complaints. The numbers which on that occaſion reſorted to the capital were incredible; but none were found bold enough to encounter the earl of Douglas, or to endeavour to bring him to a fair trial. The parties, therefore, were diſmiſſed without redreſs, and it was reſolved to proceed with the haughty earl in a different manner. Letters were written to him by the governor and chancellor, in the name of the ſtates, requeſting him to appear with his friends in parliament, and to take that lead in public affairs to which they were entitled by their high rank and great poſſeſſions. From the flattering manner in which thoſe letters were written, the unwary earl conſidered them as a tribute due to his greatneſs, and as proceeding from the inability of government to continue the adminiſtration of public affairs without his aſſiſtance. He answered the letters of the governor and chancellor by aſſuring them, that he intended to ſet out for Edinburgh. The chancellor, on pretence of doing him honour, but in reality to quiet his ſuſpicions, met him on his journey, and inviting him to his caſtle at Crichton, he there entertained the earl for ſome days with the greateſt magnificence and ap-

Great power of the earl of Douglas.

*who is put
to death
with his
brother.*

pearance of hospitality. The earl of Douglas believed all the chancellor's professions of friendship, and even sharply checked the wisest of his followers, who counselled him not to depend too much upon appearances, or to trust his brother and himself, at the same time, in any place where the chancellor had power. The latter had not only removed the earl's suspicion, but had made him a kind of convert to patriotism, by painting to him the miseries of his country, and the glory that would redound to him and his friends by removing them. The earl, without hesitation, attended the chancellor to Edinburgh, and being admitted into the castle, they dined at the same table with the king. Towards the end of the entertainment, a bull's head, the certain prelude of immediate death, was served up. The earl and his brother started on their feet, and endeavoured to make their escape; but armed men rushing in, overpowered them, and tying their hands, and those of sir Malcolm Fleming, with cords, they were carried to the castle-hill and beheaded. The young king endeavoured with tears to procure their pardon; for which he was severely checked by the unrelenting chancellor.

A.D. 1443.

The young king, at the age of fourteen, took the administration of affairs into his own hands; and it appears that he discovered a spirit and resolution surprising at his years. The present earl of Douglas proved equally turbulent with his predecessor; and the king having appointed one Robert Sempil, of Fulwood, to be governor of the castle of Dumbarton, that officer was killed by one Galbraeth, a noted partizan of the earl of Douglas, who seized upon the government of the castle. The popularity of the earl of Douglas having somewhat subsided, and finding himself not supported by the chief branches of his family, he began to think, that the king being now grown up, his safest course would be to return to his duty. He accordingly repaired to Stirling, and voluntarily throwing himself at his majesty's feet, implored his pardon for all transgressions, and solemnly promised, that he would ever after conduct himself with exemplary loyalty and attachment. The king, finding that he insisted on no terms but that of pardon, not only granted his request, but showed him the greatest marks of confidence.

James had always disapproved of the murder of the earl of Douglas and his brother; and the chancellor, perceiving the ascendancy which the succeeding earl was daily gaining at court, thought it high time to provide

^p Buchanan.

for his own safety. He therefore resigned the great-seal, and retired to the castle of Edinburgh, the custody of which he pretended had been granted to him by the late king, during his life, or until the present king should attain the age of twenty-one; and he prepared it for a siege. The lord Callendar, who also knew himself to be obnoxious to the earl of Douglas, resigned all his employments, and retired to one of his own houses; but still kept possession of the castle of Stirling. As both that and the castle of Edinburgh were royal forts, the two lords were summoned to surrender them; but instead of complying, they justified their conduct by representing the great power of their enemies, who sought their destruction. They promised, however, to surrender themselves to the king, as soon as he was of lawful age; meaning, probably, either eighteen or twenty-one. This answer being deemed contumacious, the chancellor and the late governor, with his two sons, sir Alexander and sir James Levingstone, were proclaimed traitors, in a parliament which was summoned on purpose, to be held at Stirling. In another parliament, held at Perth the same year, an act passed, that all the lands and goods which had belonged to the late king, should be possessed by the present king, to the time of his lawful age, which is not specified. This act was levelled against the late governor and chancellor, who were accused of having alienated to their own uses, or those of their friends, a great part of the royal effects and jewels; and their estates being confiscated, the execution of the sentence was committed to John Forrester, of Corstorphin, and other adherents of the earl of Douglas.

This sentence threw the whole nation into a flame. The castle of Crichton was invested, but surrendered upon the king's summons; and the castle was razed to the ground. But the governor and chancellor, especially the latter had many friends, and in particular, the bishop of St. Andrew's, nephew to James the First. These were actuated also by the dread and hatred which they bore to the earl of Douglas and his family. Crichton thus soon found himself at the head of a body of men; and while Forrester was carrying fire and sword into his estates, and those of the late governor, his own lands and those of the Douglasses were over-run. The earl of Douglas was so much exasperated by the great damages he had sustained, that he engaged his friends, the earl of Crawford and Alexander Ogilvy, of Innerquharity, to lay waste the

A.D. 1443.

Fresh broils.

lands of the bishop of St. Andrew's, whom he considered as the chief support of the two late ministers. This prelate was not more considerable by his high birth, than he was venerable by his virtue and sanctity, and had, from a principle of conscience, opposed the earl of Douglas and his party. He first admonished the earl of Crawford and his coadjutor to desist from destroying his lands; but finding his admonitions ineffectual, he laid the earl under an excommunication¹.

Crawford was almost as formidable in the northern as the earl of Douglas had been in the southern parts of Scotland. The Benedictine monks of Aberbrothwic, who were possessed of great property, had chosen Alexander Lindsay, his eldest son, to be the judge or bailiff of their temporalities; as they themselves, by their profession, could not sit in civil or criminal courts. Lindsay, by the great number of his attendants, and his high manner of living, proved so chargeable to the monks, that they removed him from his post, and substituted in his place Alexander Ogilvy, of Innerquharity. This, notwithstanding their former intimacy, created an irreconcilable difference between the two families. Each competitor strengthened himself, by calling in the assistance of his friends; and the lord Gordon taking part with the Ogilvies, to whom he was then paying a visit, both parties mustered their forces in the neighbourhood of Aberbrothwic. The earl of Crawford, who was then at Dundee, immediately hastened to the scene of action, and placing himself between the two armies, he demanded to speak with Ogilvy; but, before his request could be granted, he was killed by a common soldier, who was ignorant of his quality. His death exasperated his friends, who instantly rushed on their enemies; and there ensued a bloody conflict, which ended to the disadvantage of the assailants.

A.D. 1445.

Civil discord now raged with unbounded fury over the kingdom. No regard was paid either to the authority of magistrates, or the pacific remonstrances of the clergy. The Lindsays, secretly abetted by the earl of Douglas, made no other use of their victory than carrying fire and sword through the estates of their enemies; and thus all the North of Scotland presented scenes of murder and devastation. The same dreadful commotions prevailed in the western parts; until at last the gentlemen of the coun-

¹ Fordun.

try, who were unconnected with those robbers and murderers, shut themselves up in their houses, where they provided in the best manner they could for their defence. This resolution seems to have been the first measure that composed the public commotions.

The earl of Douglas, whose power and influence at court still continued, was sensible that the wiser and more disinterested part of the nation considered him as the source of the public calamities; and that James himself, when better informed, would be of the same opinion. He therefore sought to strengthen his interest by secretly forming connections with the earls of Crawford, Ross, and other great noblemen, who wished to see their feudal powers restored to their ancient vigour. The queen-dowager and her husband kept remote from the public confusion; and she had retired to the castle of Dunbar, while it was in Hepburn's possession, where she died soon after. She left, by her second husband, three sons; John, who in 1455, was created by the king earl of Athol; James, who under the next reign, in 1469, was created earl of Buchan; and Andrew, who afterwards became bishop of Murray. As the earl of Douglas was an enemy to the queen-dowager's husband, the latter retired to England, where he obtained a passport to go abroad, with twenty in his train; but being taken at sea by Flemish pirates, he died in his confinement.

A.D. 1446.

*Death of
the queen-
mother.*

The great point between the king and sir William Crichton, whether the latter should surrender the castle to his majesty, remained still undecided; and by the advice and direction of Douglas, who had been appointed lord-lieutenant of the kingdom, it had now been besieged during nine months. Either the strength of the castle, or an opinion entertained by Douglas, that Crichton would be a valuable acquisition to his party, procured for the latter better terms than he could otherwise have expected. He was offered, for himself and his followers, a full indemnity for all past offences, with a promise that he should be restored not only to the king's favour, but to his former post of chancellor. He accepted of the conditions, but refused to act in any public capacity, until they were confirmed by a parliament, which was soon after held at Perth, and in which he was restored to his estate and honours.

• Lindsay.

s Ibid.

A.D. 1447.

*Severities
inflicted on
the Callen-
dar family.*

By this reconciliation between Douglas and Crichton, the former was left at full liberty to prosecute his vengeance against the lord Callendar, the late governor, his family, and friends. Their fate was deservedly thought hard. The governor himself, sir James Dundas, of Dundas, and sir Robert Bruce, of Clackmannan, were not only stripped of their estates, but committed to prison in the castle of Dumbarton. Alexander, the governor's eldest son, and two other gentlemen of his family, were condemned to lose their heads.

*James is
contracted
to Mary of
Guelders.*

An embassy which had been sent from Scotland to France, and a contract of marriage between James and Mary of Gueldres, gave offence to the English court, which, though split into factions at home, and overwhelmed by misfortunes abroad, resolved upon beginning hostilities with the Scots, though the truce between the two nations, it is said, was not then expired. Accordingly the earls of Salisbury and Northumberland entered Scotland at the head of two separate bodies. The former burnt the town of Dumfries, as the latter did that of Dunbar, while sir John Douglas of Balveny made reprisals, by plundering the county of Cumberland, and burning Alnwick. Upon the return of the English armies to their own country, preparations were made for a fresh invasion of Scotland, under the earl of Northumberland. The Scots, in the mean time, raised an army, commanded by George Douglas, earl of Ormond, and others. The English, having passed Solway-frith, ravaged all that part of the country that belonged to the Scots; but hearing that the earl of Ormond's army was approaching, they called in their parties, and encamped on the banks of the river Sark. A battle soon ensued, in which the English were routed with great loss. Numbers of them fled towards the Solway, where the river being swelled by the tide, many, in attempting their passage, were drowned. The booty which was made on the occasion, is said to have been greater than any that had fallen to the Scots since the battle of Bannockburnⁿ.

A.D. 1448.

*Battle of
Sark.*

A.D. 1449.

The English, perceiving how ill they had succeeded in their late invasion, now expressed themselves willing to come to an accommodation with the Scots. A short truce was therefore agreed upon, from the 10th of August to the 20th of September following. In a subsequent

ⁿ Ford un.

meeting of the commissioners, it was prolonged until the 19th of November. After this another convention was held, when they came to a very singular agreement. It was, that no precise time for the duration of the truce on either side should be fixed upon, but that a truce should actually take place; and if either king had a mind to renew hostilities, he was to give the other a previous warning of one hundred and eighty days. This treaty was ratified by the king of England on the 20th of April, 1450, and by James on the 9th of June following. A.D. 1450.

It is uncertain whether the subsequent part of James's administration was dictated by his own genius, or by a new set of favourites; but the interest of the Douglasses, about this time, sensibly declined at his court. Fresh complaints were daily presented of the increase of robberies, and the protection given to thieves by Douglas and his friends. One of the latter, James Auchinlec, who is likewise said to have been his near kinsman, had quarrelled with sir Richard Colvil, of Ochiltree, who complained of the other's oppressions; and Auchinlec, in the course of the dispute, was killed. The earl, instead of letting the law have its course, assembled a strong party of his adherents, besieged and took the castle of Ochiltree, put Colvil and all within it to the sword, except those who were unable to bear arms. This transaction appears to have entirely alienated James from his presumptuous favourite; for though the royal bride arrived in Scotland about this time, with a magnificent train of attendants, and the ceremony of the marriage was performed at Holyrood-house with great pomp; yet, amidst all the festivity natural to the occasion, the king could not dissemble the disgust which he had conceived against Douglas; and the latter, resigning his lieutenancy, retired to his own estates. His natural vanity being supported by an immense revenue, too great for a subject, he formed the resolution of displaying his grandeur on the continent, which was filled with the fame of his ancestors^w.

*Arrival of
the queen.*

James assembled a parliament at Edinburgh, in which were enacted several statutes favourable to constitutional liberty; and the clamour against the oppressions of the Douglasses continuing from all quarters, he appointed a day on which the delinquents were to appear to answer the charges against them. But he proceeded in a more sum-

^w Abercromby.

mary manner against the immediate instruments of the public grievances. One Sinnington, a bailiff to the earl of Douglas, was summoned to appear before the king's court ; but he declined it, and was therefore committed to prison. He was however soon after set at liberty, on condition of indemnifying the complainants out of his master's estates. William Sinclair was sent to put this sentence in execution ; but returned without being able to effect his purpose. The king, who now found his subjects inclined to support the royal authority, soon put himself at the head of an army sufficiently strong to enforce the execution of the laws. He divided his army into two parts : one he sent to Galloway, and with the other he marched in person against the castle of Douglas. The former was baffled by the rebels, who had taken possession of the strong passes of the country ; it therefore rejoined the army under James, who besieged the castle of Douglas, which, after a brave defence, he took ; and, to strike the rebels with greater terror, ordered it to be demolished. He then advanced against the castle of Lochmaben, which immediately surrendered. The vigour of James soon daunted the rebels, and many of them threw themselves upon his mercy ; but, though he spared their lives, he stripped them of their effects, which he bestowed on those whom they had plundered or defrauded.

The earl of Douglas, soon after these transactions, returned to England, and sent his brother to know the disposition of James towards him and his friends. The king thought he had now done enough to vindicate his own authority ; and, willing to prevent the effusion of blood, expressed his inclination to pardon the earl for all that was past, upon his promising to behave for the future as a dutiful subject. Douglas readily accepted the condition proposed, and was not only pardoned by James, but taken again into favour. This turbulent and ambitious nobleman, however, soon resumed his treasonable practices, exercising and abetting innumerable acts of violence and cruelty, and entering into confederacies against the government. It has even been alleged, that his intention was to assume the royal authority himself. But if he did not really aim at obtaining the crown, he certainly meant to render it despicable on the head of his sovereign. At last, the king invited him to a conference in the castle of Stirling, and he offered to comply, provided that he had a safe-conduct. This being obtained, the earl began his march towards Stirling with
a great

a great number of followers, as usual. He arrived there on Shrove-Tuesday; and being received by the king with great appearance of cordiality, he was admitted to sup with his majesty in the castle, while his attendants were dispersed in the town, little suspecting the catastrophe which was so near at hand. The entertainment being ended, the king told the earl, with an air of frankness, that as he was now of age, he was resolved to be the father of all his people, and to take the government into his own hands; that his lordship, therefore, had no reason to be under any apprehensions from his old enemies, Caledar and Crichton; that there was no occasion to form any confederacies, as the law was ready to protect him; and that he was welcome to the principal direction of affairs under the crown, and to the first place in the royal confidence; and that all former offences done by himself and his friends should be pardoned and forgotten.

This speech was the very reverse of what the earl of Douglas aimed at. It assured him, indeed, of being rendered the first subject of the kingdom. It still he was controulable by the laws. Upon the king's peremptorily putting the question to him, he not only refused to dissolve the confederacy, but upbraided the king for his government. This produced a passionate rejoinder on the part of James; but the earl represented that he was under a safe-conduct, and that the nature of the confederacy was such that it could not be broken, but by the common consent of all parties concerned. The king insisted upon his setting the example, and the earl continuing more and more obstinate, James stabbed him with his dagger; and armed men rushing into the room, completed the tragedy^w.

A.D. 1452.

James kills the earl of Douglas with his own hand.

Intimation of what had happened being conveyed from the castle to the town, James Douglas, the brother and successor of the deceased earl, after exaggerating to his party the murder which had been committed, proposed to invest the castle. His adherents, however, excused themselves, as being too weak for such an enterprize, and were contented with trailing the safe-conduct at a horse's tail, and proclaiming, by trumpets and horns, the king a perjured traitor. They all then departed to their respective habitations, after agreeing to assemble with fresh forces about the beginning of April. The king lost no time in improving this short interval, and found the nation in general much better disposed in his favour than he had

A civil war.

^w Buchanan.

reason

reason to expect. The intolerable oppressions of the great barons made his subjects esteem the civil far preferable to the feudal subjection, and even the Douglasses were divided among themselves; for the earl of Angus, and sir John Douglas, of Dalkeith, were among the most forward of the royalists. James, at the same time, wrote letters to the earl of Huntley, and to all the noblemen of his kingdom who were no parties in the confederacy, beside the ecclesiastics, who remained firmly attached to his prerogative. But, before the effect of those applications was known, the insurgents had returned to Stirling, where James still wisely kept himself upon the defensive, and repeating their insolences, and the opprobrious treatment of the safe-conduct; they plundered the town, and laid it in ashes. Being still unable to take the castle, partly through their own divisions, and partly through the diversity of operations they were obliged to supply, they left Stirling, and destroyed the estate of sir John Douglas, of Dalkeith, whom they considered as a double traitor, because he was a Douglas and a good subject. They then besieged his castle, which was, however, so bravely defended that they abandoned the enterprize, and gave the royal party farther leisure for humbling them.

All this time the unhappy country was suffering the most cruel devastations. The king was obliged to keep on the defensive; and though he had ventured to leave the castle of Stirling, he was in no condition to face the enemy in the field. They were in possession of all the strong passes, by which his friends were to march to his assistance; and he even consulted with his attendants on the means of escaping to France, where he was sure of a hospitable reception. But he was diverted from that resolution by the bishop of St. Andrew's, and the earl of Angus, himself a Douglas, who prevailed upon him to wait for the event of the earl of Huntley's attempt for his service, that nobleman having raised an army to assist the king. James, in the mean time, issued circular letters to the chief ecclesiastics and bodies-politic of his kingdom, setting forth the necessity he was under to proceed as he had done, and his readiness to protect all his loyal subjects in their rights and privileges, against the power of the Douglasses and their rebellious adherents. Before those letters could have any effect, the rebels had plundered the defenceless houses and estates of all who were not in their confederacy, and had proceeded with a fury which turned to the prejudice of their cause.

The indignation which had been conceived against the king for violating his safe-conduct, began now to subside ; and the outrages of his enemies justified in some measure what had happened ; or at least made the people conclude that James would not have proceeded as he did without the strongest provocation. The earl was by this time at the head of a considerable army, and had begun his march southwards ; but having advanced as far as Brechin, he was opposed by the earl of Crawford, the earl of Douglas's chief ally, who commanded the people of Angus, and all the insurgents of the neighbouring counties, headed by foreign officers. The two armies had engaged for some time, and the victory seemed doubtful, when one Coloss, of Bonnymoon, on whom Crawford had great dependence, but whom he had imprudently disoblinded, came over to the royalists with his division, which was the best armed part of the rebel forces ; being provided with battle-axes, broad-swords, and long spears. His defection left the centre of Crawford's army entirely exposed to the royalists, and fixed the fortune of the day. Crawford lost one of his brothers, and fled with another, sir John Lindsay, to his house at Finhaven. We are not informed of the loss of men on either side, but it is allowed to have been very considerable. The earl of Huntley lost two brothers. To reward his good services, as well as to indemnify him for the presents which he made to his followers, the king is said to have bestowed upon him the lands of Lochaber and Badenoch.

A.D. 1452.
Battle of Brechin.

The battle of Brechin, though of the utmost importance to the royal cause, was not immediately decisive in favour of the king. The earl of Murray, a Douglas likewise, took advantage of Huntley's absence to ravage the estates of all the royalists in the North ; but Huntley returning from Brechin with his victorious army, drove his enemy into his own county of Murray, and afterwards expelled him even thence. James was now encouraged by the advice of his kinsman, Kennedy, bishop of St. Andrew's, to proceed against the rebels in a legal manner, by holding a parliament at Edinburgh, to which the confederated lords were summoned ; and upon their non-appearance they were solemnly declared traitors. This proceeding seemed to make the rebellion rage more fiercely than ever ; and at last the confederates avowedly threw off all allegiance to the king. They even placaded on the doors of the principal churches, manifestoes, signed with their own hands, declaring, " that they were resolved

An unlawful association by many great lords.

never

never to obey command or charge, nor answer citation for the time coming, because the king, so far from being a just master, was a blood-sucker, a murderer, a transgressor of hospitality, and a surpriser of the innocent."

James thought himself, from the behaviour of the earl of Douglas and his adherents, now warranted to come to extremities; and marching into Annandale, he carried fire and sword through all the estates of the Douglasses in those parts^a. The earl of Crawford, on the other hand, having now recruited his strength, destroyed the lands of all the people of Angus and the adjacent country, who had abandoned him at the battle of Brechin; though there is reason to believe, that he had already secretly resolved to throw himself upon the king's mercy.

Nothing but the most obstinate pride and inveteracy could have prevented the earl of Douglas, at this time, from taking the advice of his friends, by returning to his duty; in which case, James had given sufficient intimations, that he might expect pardon. He coloured his contumacy with the specious pretext, that his brother's fate, and those of his two kinsmen, instructed him never to trust James or his ministers; that he had gone too far to think of receding; and that kings, when offended as James had been, never pardoned in good earnest.

James, after his expedition into Annandale, found the season too far advanced to continue his operations in that quarter; and returning to Edinburgh, he marched northwards to Angus, to reduce the earl of Crawford, who was the second most powerful rebel in the kingdom. That nobleman had hitherto deferred throwing himself at the king's feet, and had resumed his arms only in the hope of himself and his party obtaining better terms from James. Perceiving that the earl of Douglas's obstinacy had cooled some other of the confederated lords, and had put an end to all the hopes of a treaty, he resolved to make a merit of breaking the confederacy, by being the first to submit. James, having arrived in Angus, was continuing his march through the country, when the earl and some of his principal followers fell on their knees before him on the road, bare-headed and bare-footed. Their dreary looks, their suppliant postures, and the tears, which streamed abundantly from the earl, were expressive of the most sincere contrition; and this mute scene was followed by a penitential speech from the earl, acknowledging his crimes,

*The earl of
Crawford
submits.*

^a Buch. Drummond.

and imploring forgiveness. James was then attended by his chief counsellors, particularly bishop Kennedy, who, he resolved, should have some share in the favour he meant to extend to the earl. He asked their advice, which proving to be on the merciful side, James promised to the earl and his followers restitution of all their estates and honours, and full pardon for all that had passed. The earl, as a grateful retribution of this favour, before the king left Angus, joined him with a considerable body of his friends and followers; and attending him to the North, was extremely active in suppressing the remains of the rebellion in those parts. It is certain that the submission of the earl of Crawford was followed (but we know not upon what terms) by that of the earl of Douglas: for, on the 18th. of April, 1453, the king appointed James, earl of Douglas and Annandale, with other persons, to go to England in the quality of ambassadors. On the 23d of May following, it was agreed that the truce should be prolonged to the 1st of May, 1457, and as long after as the two kings should agree upon. It appears, that, next year, the restless earl of Douglas again broke out into rebellion, which, though formidable by the number of insurgents, was suppressed without bloodshed^b.

A.D. 1453.

A treaty with England.

A.D. 1455.

The long minority of the king, the partiality of his ministers, and perhaps his own distresses, had reduced the power and revenues of the crown, at this time, to so low a state, that it had been upheld only by the principles of self-preservation in the subject. In a parliament which now assembled, it was the professed intention of the members to give a severe blow to the feudal system, and to provide for the dignity of the crown; but, at the same time, to raise a barrier against all future encroachments of the royal prerogative upon the liberties of the people.

While the parliament was employed in these wise provisions, another formidable rebellion broke out in the North. The earl of Ross renewed his claims of independency upon the crown of Scotland; and proceeded so far as to declare himself king of the Isles. This powerful vassal was in the North what Douglas was in the South, an avowed champion for the feudal government; and he considered the acts of the civil power as invasions of his property, some part of which had been by late statutes annexed to the crown. It is thought, and not without reason, that he was encouraged by the English; for in the

The earl of Ross subdued.

^b Buch. Drummond.

A.D. 1456. beginning of the year 1456, he raised an army, which must have been considerable, because it over-ran Argyle, Lochaber, part of Murray, and the Isle of Arran. He expelled the bishop of the Isles from his diocese; he took and demolished the castle and town of Inverness; and nothing but the inability of the earl of Douglas and the English to support him, stopped his barbarous progress. The earls of Northumberland and Douglas were now acting in concert, and had invaded the borders; but were defeated by the earl of Angus, and sir James Hamilton, the latter of whom had formerly been so much attached to Douglas. The news of their defeat disconcerted the earl of Ross; and his lady, who was a favourite with James, and daughter to lord Livingstone, had the address to be taken under the protection of the king, against the barbarous usage (as she pretended) of her husband. Her distress, whether real or fictitious mollified James; and she at last procured her husband's pardon.

Few of James's predecessors had ever been in a more desirable situation than he was at this time. He persevered in his wise resolution of making the laws and the advice of his parliament the rules of his administration. On the 19th of October he again called a parliament, to lay before it the state of his kingdom. A pestilence had already made some progress in Scotland; and the wisest precautions were taken to prevent it from spreading. Proper measures were devised for the due administration of justice. The coinage was reformed; the internal commerce of the kingdom, in holding fairs and markets, was regulated; but, above all, the borders, which had cost the kingdom so much blood, were put in a proper state of defence. A regular militia was established, which was to be always in readiness in case of an invasion. Wappinshawings, or *musterings*, were appointed to be held once a month; and all able-bodied males, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, were ordered to be provided, according to their respective ranks, with horses and armour for the field. The king was empowered to oblige the greater towns to provide artillery and ammunition, with engineers and other workmen for conducting the train. Other excellent regulations with regard to peace and war, were made by the same parliament.

A.D. 1457. On the 11th of June, 1457, the Scottish and English plenipotentiaries met at Coventry, where they agreed to a

truce from the 6th of July following, to the 6th of the same month, 1459. This negociation being concluded; the king called another parliament at Edinburgh, the proceedings of which are extremely remarkable, and throw great light upon the exercise of jurisprudence in Scotland before the institution of the present court of sessions. By what appears from history, justice was then administered by a rotation of the nobility, clergy, and burgesſes. The judges were appointed to ſit during the ſpace of forty days, three times in the year, at Edinburgh, Perth, and Aberdeen. From theſe courts lay no appeal, either to the king or parliament. The commiſſions of the judges expired with the year. The vacancies were ſupplied by the king and his council, until a new meeting of parliament; and the judges were to ſerve on their own charges. A number of uſeful regulations, reſpecting the internal polity of the kingdom, was enacted by this aſſembly, which ſeems to have taken a comprehensive view of whatever more immediately required the attention of the legiſlature.

A.D. 1458.

The firſt fruits of the harmony between the king and his people appeared in a new treaty of truce, which was ſet on foot with England in 1459. By a convention, held at Newcaſtle, the truce was prolonged on the 12th of September, until the 8th of July, 1468. The prolongation of this truce, at a time when there was almoſt a total ceſſation of government in England, and when Henry VI. or rather his queen, had been entirely defeated at the battle of Northampton, exhibited an eminent proof of the moderation of James and his council. The queen of England, after loſing battle upon battle, and being ſtripped of all her jewels, was obliged to apply to James for an aſylum; James accordingly ordered that ſhe ſhould be received upon his borders in a manner ſuitable to her dignity. At this time, however, he was treating with the Lancaſtrian-party about repairing ſome breaches of the late truce. He now raiſed a gallant army, with which he invaded England, with a declared reſolution to beſiege the caſtles of Roxburgh and Berwick, which he did at the ſame time. It is uncertain to whoſe care he committed the ſiege of Berwick, but we know that he undertook that of Roxburgh in perſon; and having laid the town in aſhes, he battered the caſtle, which made a vigorous reſiſtance^d.

A.D. 1459.

A.D. 1460.

*James be-
ſieges Rox-
burgh
caſtle,*

^d Abercromby. Buch.

James's great barons appear to have vied with each other in forwarding his service in this expedition. The turbulent earl of Ross joined him with a gallant body of Highlanders, with which he proposed to form the van of his army, and to scour all the neighbouring country. James received him with great politeness, but told him, that he was directed by his councils in the operations of war, and desired he would pitch his tent near the royal pavilion. We may thence conclude, that James was not fond of trusting the earl with a separate command. About the same time, the earl of Huntley, who had often manifested his loyalty, arrived in the camp with another body of men; and his arrival was so welcome to James, that he went to the trenches, where he ordered a general discharge of his artillery, of which he had a fine train. This order proved fatal to James. One of the cannons, called the Lyon, burst, and part of it struck him on the thigh, as he was incautiously standing near it. By this fatal accident he instantly expired, in the thirtieth year of his age. The nobility who were present concealed his death, for fear of discouraging the soldiers; and in a few hours after, the queen appeared in the camp, and presented her young son as their king, but undertook herself to be their general.

A.D. 1460.

Aug. 3d.
where he is
accident-
ally killed.

No prince ever expressed a more tender regard for the liberties of his subjects, and none ever reigned more absolute in their affections. Considering his youth, and the great opposition he met with in the field, it must be acknowledged, that he managed the reins of government with extraordinary discretion. Almost the only exceptionable part of his conduct was the murder of the earl of Douglas; but this, if it be not justified, is at least palliated by the manners of the times, and the incorrigible turbulence of that nobleman, who bade defiance to all legal government, and whose impunity appears to have been incompatible with the safety, or even the existence of the state.

James had by his wife, Mary of Gueldres, three sons, namely, James, who succeeded him; Alexander, duke of Albany; and John, earl of Mar; besides two daughters, Margaret and Cecilia.

JAMES

J A M E S III.

SCOTLAND was now again to experience the government of a minor, by the untimely death of the late king. The prince, at the time of his accession, was not full seven years of age. The queen-mother immediately carried him to Kelso, where some say he was crowned, and many of the principal subjects paid him homage and allegiance. Returning from Kelso, she pushed the siege of Roxburgh-castle with so much vigour, that the garrison in a few days capitulated, on being allowed to depart with bag and baggage. The castle at the same time was demolished. Towards September, they took and dismantled the castle of Wark; and then it was resolved that a parliament should be held at Edinburgh.

A.D. 1460.

When the parliament assembled, it was divided into two parties. One sided with the queen, who contended for the guardianship of her son, the young king. The major party, however, was that of the bishop of St. Andrew's, and the earl of Angus, who insisted upon the prince's being put under the care of a tutor, chosen by parliament. After the assembly had debated this point for two days, the queen and her followers came from the castle, and she caused herself to be declared the king's tutrix, and governess of the kingdom. Having done this, she returned to the castle; and bishop Kennedy, demanding an audience of the parliament, which continued sitting, begged them to suspend their judgments, because he was able to prove that the queen's proceeding was unconstitutional. He no sooner finished his harangue, than an armed party from the castle appeared for the queen; and bloodshed must have ensued, had not some prelates interposed with the earl of Angus, and prevailed upon both parties to consent to a truce for a month. The queen had behaved with great magnanimity, and had done the public important services; but, on the other hand, she was a foreigner, and might be under the influence of her relations. She was young, and by marrying either a subject or a stranger, the public tranquillity, if not safety, might be endangered. The parliament wisely observed a mean between both parties. They committed the care of the king's person to four lords of parliament, the lord Graham and the lord Boyd, who were of the queen's party; the earl of Orkney, and lord Kennedy, who were the bishop's

N

friends;

friends; and the bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld, who were supposed to be of no party. The bishop of St. Andrew's still retained his authority; and the nation continued to have so good an opinion of his virtue and wisdom, that it is universally allowed, the administration could not have been put into better hands.

A.D. 1461.

*Berwick
restored to
Scotland.*

*Domestic
broils in
Scotland,*

*fomented by
the earl of
Douglas.*

The civil commotions in England proved the means of now restoring to the Scots the castle of Berwick, which had been so unjustly seized by Edward III. during the minority of his brother-in-law, David II. But the same causes, this year, also gave rise to domestic broils in Scotland. Henry VI. and his queen had experienced the assistance of the Scots, and had even come to Edinburgh, to forward a negotiation. Edward, therefore was desirous of giving Scotland a diversion at home; and the juncture was favourable to his views. The Scots had no longer a brave, active prince at their head; and disorders began in those parts of the kingdom that were the most remote from the seat of government. Allan, a younger son of the family of Lorn, had seized upon the person and estate of his elder brother. The usurper was chastised for this unnatural act by Colin, earl of Argyle, who defeated and committed him to prison, where he died, but whether a violent, or natural death, is uncertain. This was a prelude to still greater disturbances in other parts of the kingdom, and which were immediately connected with Edward's views. The earl of Douglas and his party undertook to raise a rebellion in Scotland, by means of the earl of Ross, who, at their instigation, renewed all his old family-claims of independency within the Isles. He accordingly surprised the king's castle of Inverness, and levied contributions upon all the neighbouring country. After performing various other outrages with great celerity, he was seized with a frenzy in the castle of Inverness, and is said to have been killed by an Irish harper. The death of this turbulent chieftain, however, did not disconcert the Douglasses at the court of England. Edward renewed with the earl of Ross's son all the engagements into which he had entered with his father; and he did not think it below his dignity to appoint the bishop of Durham and the earl of Winchester as his commissioners for this negotiation. Next year, however, after the battle of Hexham, in which the Scots had assisted Henry and his queen Margaret, a treaty was concluded between Edward and

A.D. 1463.

*A treaty
with Eng-
land.*

• Buchanan.

Scotland;

Scotland, which suspended, for a time, the mutual hostilities of the two nations.

This year is distinguished by the death of the queen-mother of Scotland, to whose spirit and prudence that kingdom owed the greatest obligations. She had ordered by her will, that her second son, the duke of Albany, should be sent to receive his education at the court of Gueldres. A safe-conduct was accordingly obtained from Edward for the duke and two hundred servants, who were to attend him to the parts beyond sea. The Scottish commissioners were then negotiating at York with the lord Montague; and, in violation of the safe-conduct, the young prince and his retinue were made prisoners by the English. This capture was resented, in very high terms, by the government of Scotland; and their commissioners were instructed to insist upon the duke's being set at liberty, or to break off the negotiation. Along with these instructions was sent a herald, who had orders to declare war against England, if the prince was not instantly set at liberty. The requisition, however, was immediately complied with on the part of the English.

Death of the queen-mother.

The excellent bishop Kennedy, who, during the late and present reign may be considered as the guardian genius of Scotland, was still alive, but so far advanced in years, that his authority, and the wise regulations he had established, supplied his more active faculties; and the public still enjoyed a prosperous tranquillity. The intriguing spirits at court began to form plans for governing the kingdom after his death, which happened, in a venerable old age, on the 10th of May, 1466.

A.D. 1466.

Death of bishop Kennedy.

James, at this time, showed promising dispositions, and while bishop Kennedy lived, great care was taken of his education. The chief nobleman about his person was Robert, lord Boyd, who had been preferred, by the interest of his brother, to be the king's instructor in all polite and military exercises, that were known in that age; and they had, before the death of bishop Kennedy, laid a plan for engrossing to themselves the person and authority of their young master, who was now twelve years of age. The lord Kennedy, elder brother to the bishop, was yet living, and was assisted by his son in having a watchful eye on the conduct of the Boyds, whom they began to suspect. They were out-witted by sir Alexander Boyd, brother to lord Boyd, who consulting the opening genius of their pupil, found that he was disgusted with the severity of the Kennedies, and the pedantic manner (as sir

Alexander called it) in which he was treated, at a time of life when he ought to be assisting, if not presiding, at his council-board. James was then at Linlithgow, and the Boyds having moulded him entirely to their own wishes, it was agreed, that he should make his escape from the tuition of the Kennedies to Edinburgh. The Boyds had summoned their friends to attend early in the morning, on the grounds where they were to receive the king, at a pretended hunting match. They all met accordingly, and proceeded to Edinburgh with their royal prey. The Boyds, trusting to their possessing the king's person, made no doubt of obtaining from parliament an indemnification for the treason which they had committed; and, in the wantonness of insult, they sent to the lord Kennedy, a monkey, as a pupil more proper for him than a monarch. To render themselves perfectly secure, they made use of the king's name in summoning a parliament to meet at Edinburgh on the 9th of October, well knowing that none durst appear who would oppose their proceedings. The assembly being met, the lord Boyd fell upon his knees, and in a long studied harangue, endeavoured to clear himself from all the charges that could be urged against him, for having delivered the king from the thralldom he had suffered under the Kennedies; and ended by beseeching James to explain himself upon that head. The young prince, as he had been instructed, confirmed all that Boyd had said, declaring that their having rescued him from the Kennedies was the most agreeable service that could have been performed to his crown and person. This declaration was recorded in the books of parliament, and an exemplification of it given under the broad-seal to the lord Boyd, by way of pardon for what he had done. Boyd with the genius and ambition, had likewise all the pride and insolence, of a first minister; and his projects, at this time, were equally bold and extensive. He had already in his eye a match for his young master, and he had even mentioned it in parliament. The lady was the princess Margaret, daughter to king Christiern, of Denmark, between which kingdom and Scotland a long intricate account lay open, in consequence of the cession of the Orkney and Shetland islands. But, before any definitive measures were taken, relative to the king's marriage, the minister resolved, if possible, to raise his family to a height that might bid defiance to all his adversaries, by procuring a marriage between the king's sister, the princess Margaret, and his own eldest son, Thomas Boyd, a youth of the most promising parts. The match

match was accordingly concluded, and the marriage celebrated; and, to render the bridegroom more worthy of his illustrious fortune, the title of earl of Arran was added to his honours, and the island itself to his estate.

The minister having secured this great point to his family, and, as he imagined, safety to himself, resumed the negotiation for the marriage of his master, who was then but fourteen years of age. This negotiation was also concluded next year, on the 10th of May; but from the too liberal concessions which had been made on this occasion by the Scottish plenipotentiaries, the whole family of Boyd soon after became obnoxious to the young king. The old lord Boyd, being now far advanced in years, could not be always about his person; and the Kennedies resumed their influence over him.

A.D. 1469

The lord Boyd, who had gone abroad to transact the treaty of marriage, having finished his commission, embarked with his fair charge. She is said to have been one of the greatest beauties, as well as most accomplished princesses of that age^f. Her virtue equalled, if not surpassed, her personal charms; and James, who was remarkably handsome, entirely engaged her affections. The management of a negotiation which brings a beautiful bride into the arms of a young prince, has generally been found a strong security for that minister. It happened in this case to be the reverse; nor does it appear that the princess at all interested herself in favour of Boyd. In fact, his ruin, and that of his family, was the consequence of those measures which he thought would have secured both. James repented that Boyd had married his favourite sister; and he now disliked all the steps that had been taken in his more youthful days, under the influence of the Boyds. Even the remembrance of the speech, which they had persuaded him to make in parliament, gave him disgust, and he was at no pains to disguise his intentions to ruin them.

Marriage of the king.

His sister, the countess of Arran easily perceived this; and, from motives of affection or duty, or both, when she heard that the fleet which brought over the royal bride had arrived in the Forth, she hurried in disguise on board the ship where her husband was, to inform him of his danger. As he and his family had no dependence for pardon of the treasons of which they had been guilty, particularly that of carrying off the king from his parlia-

Ruin of the earl of Arran.

^f Ferrarius.

mentary guardians, he thought it imprudent to throw himself into the hands of his enemies; and therefore declared to his wife, that he was determined not to set his foot on shore, but to fly abroad, and wait for better times. The countess offered to attend him; and he impolitically accepted of that proof of her affection.

As the young queen interposed in no affairs of state, the old lord Boyd, his son, the earl of Murray, and his brother, sir Alexander, were summoned to a parliament which met at Edinburgh. The old lord, more than suspecting that his destruction and that of his family was intended, raised his followers, and appearing at Edinburgh with a force superior to that which guarded the parliament, was therefore suffered to depart. This insolence increased James's indignation against him; and levying a strong body of troops to protect himself and his parliament, the latter pronounced sentence against the three heads of the house of Boyd, on the 2d. of November, 1469. This sentence was founded upon the treasonable removal of the king from Linlithgow. The Boyds and their adherents urged the parliamentary indemnity which had passed for that act. The enemies of the Boyds, however, insisted that the notoriety of their power was such as rendered it unsafe for the free and independent part of the parliament to appear, or to vote against them. Nor did James himself deny that the declaration he had made, and upon which that indemnity was grounded, had been suggested to him by the Boyds, and formed, in reality, a part of the treason against them. The old lord had not the courage to stand his trial; but his brother bravely faced the storm, and produced an act of parliament, dated the 25th of October, 1466, justifying all he had done. His defence availed him nothing, for he was condemned to die; and he was accordingly beheaded on the castle-hill of Edinburgh.

*The king's
sister dis-
worced
from the
earl of
Arran;*

The earl of Arran's fate was much harder than that of his father and his uncle, under whose direction he was when he attended them in carrying off the king from Linlithgow, the only act of treason that could be alleged against him. On leaving the coast of Scotland, he steered for that of Denmark; but finding an unsafe retreat there, he went to France, and, by the recommendation of Lewis the Eleventh (finding all his endeavours to be restored to his country fruitless), he entered into the service of the duke of Burgundy, with whom he was in great favour. He is said to have died in 1471, at Antwerp, where a noble monument was erected to his memory.

The

The king's sister had borne two children, James and Græcina, to her husband; but the lord Hamilton being now the king's favourite, a resolution was formed, against all laws divine and human, that he should be his brother-in-law likewise. James had invited his sister home, and, in hopes of being able to serve her husband, she accordingly returned to Scotland. Soon after her arrival, the king, in the most unwarrantable manner (that of summoning the earl of Arran to appear in sixty days, though the latter knew that his compliance must prove his certain destruction), procured a divorce between that nobleman and his sister, whom he afterwards married to the lord Hamilton.

and married to the lord Hamilton.

The parliament which had forfeited the Boyds, enacted several statutes of national importance, among which one in particular deserves to be mentioned. It was enacted, that if the poor were injuriously treated by the ordinary temporal judges, they should summon before the king and council, not only the party injuring, but those who refused, or partially administered justice. If the accused were found guilty of the former, they were to be deprived of their office at the discretion of the king and council, and to pay cost to the plaintiff; and if the latter was proved against them, deprivation of office for three years was the penalty of those judges who held their offices in fee; but those who enjoyed them only for a time, were not only rendered for ever incapable, but were also corporally punished. In order to obviate the encouragement which this statute might give to vexatious and frivolous complaints, corporal punishments, if the parties could not pay, were enacted; but, after all, an appeal lay to the king and council, and their decision was final.

James, for the most part, lived retired in the castle of Stirling, where he chiefly amused himself with the arts of architecture and music. But it was his misfortune likewise to be greatly addicted to judicial astrology; an infatuation which involved him in a series of conduct which proved extremely dishonourable to his reign. He had made his brother, the duke of Albany, governor of Berwick, and had entrusted him with very extensive powers upon the borders, where a violent propensity to the feudal law still continued. The Humes and the Hepburns, then the most powerful subjects in those parts, could not

James infatuated by judicial astrology.

brook the duke of Albany's greatness, especially after he had forced them, by virtue of a late act, to part with some of the estates which had been inconsiderately granted them in this and the preceding reign. According to Lindsay, the historian, the duke's enemies found means to corrupt some of his brother's favourites, to give James bad impressions of his designs. The pretended science of judicial astrology, with which James continued to be incredibly infatuated, was the easiest, as well the most effectual engine that could effect their purposes. One Andrew, an infamous impostor in that art, had been brought over from Flanders by James; and he and Schevez, a man of a similar character, now made bishop of St. Andrew's, concurred in persuading James, that the Scottish lion was to be devoured by his own whelps; a prediction which, to a prince of James's turn, amounted to a certainty^h.

Mean time there cannot be any doubt that very unwarrantable methods were practised upon the minds of the duke of Albany and the earl of Mar, brothers to James. They might perceive his reserve, and that they were excluded from his countenance; that their brother was governed by a detestable set of men, and, in short, that their own lives were in danger. The condition to which James had now brought himself by his belief in judicial astrology, was deplorable. The princes upon the continent were smitten with the same infatuation; and the wretches who besieged his person had no safety but by continuing the delusion in his mind. Cochran, a man who had some knowledge in architecture, and had been introduced to James as a master-mason, privately procured an old woman, who pretended to be a witch, and who heightened his terrors by declaring that his brothers intended to murder him. James believed her, and the unguarded manner in which the earl of Mar treated his weakness, exasperated him so much, that the earl, giving a farther loose to his tongue, in railing against his brother's unworthy favourites, was arrested, and committed to the castle of Craig-Millar, whence he was brought to the Canongate, a suburb of Edinburgh, where he died.

A.D. 1476. Authors are divided as to the manner of his death. Buchanan says, that he was cast into prison, where, being condemned by the privy-council, he was put to death by having a vein opened; and that the crime commonly im-

*Death of
the earl of
Mar.*

^h Drummond.

puted

puted to him, was his conspiring the king's death with witches, twelve of whom were burnt, to give the better colour to the accusation. Lesley, though a favourer of the Stuart family, rather confirms than contradicts the account given by Buchanan; and Ferrarius, who lived at the time, acknowledges that he was murdered by James.

The duke of Albany was at his castle of Dunbar when his brother, the earl of Mar's, tragedy was acted, and James could not be easy without having him likewise in his power. In hopes of surprizing him, he marched to Dunbar; but the duke, being apprized of his coming, fled to Berwick. In this situation he entered into a correspondence with some of the chief lords, for removing from James his worthless favourites; and for this purpose he ventured to Edinburgh, where James was so well served with spies, that he was arrested, and committed close prisoner to the castle, with orders that he should speak with none but in the presence of his keepers. The duke had probably suspected, and provided against this event; for we are told, that he had agents, who every day repaired to the castle, as if they had come from court, and reported the state of matters between him and the king, while his keepers were present, in so favourable a light, that they made no doubt of his soon regaining his liberty, and being re-admitted to his brother's favour. The seeming negotiation went on so prosperously, that at last the duke gave his keepers a kind of a farewell entertainment, previous to his obtaining a formal deliverance; and they drank so immoderately that, being intoxicated, they gave him an opportunity of escaping over the castle wall, by forming to himself a conductor of the sheets of his bed. He then went on board a ship which his friends had provided, and escaped to France¹.

*Escape of
the duke of
Albany.*

Though James was surrounded by worthless favourites, and though superstition had its usual effect on him, that of rendering him credulous and cruel, yet his weakness and folly were confined to his court; and his people still kept within the bounds of their duty to his person and government. Some patriots, however, beheld his conduct with infinite dissatisfaction. The chief of those were the earl of Orkney and Caithness, and sir James Liddel of Halkerton. The former was one of the most powerful subjects in Scotland, and had married a daughter of the house of Douglas. His daughter by that lady had

*Disfranchis-
tions in
Scotland.*

¹ Drummond.

been married (though some say uncanonically) to the duke of Albany; and it is not improbable that the Douglasses might have been in concert with the duke and the earl of Orkney, in a design of reforming the government. Perhaps their purpose went farther, even to the dethroning the king. James, however, stood still well in the eye of the public; and when the earl of Orkney fortified the castle of Crichton against the royal authority, both he and sir James Liddel were forfeited by act of parliament. This severity was far from stifling the discontent against James, which prevailed among many of his great men. The duke of Albany was then in France, where he was caressed by Lewis the Eleventh, whose dark disposition rendered him jealous of the good correspondence which subsisted between the courts of England and Scotland. The duke, however, could not prevail upon Lewis to give him any other assistance than that of interceding for him with his brother; though we are told, that the duke's former marriage being found invalid, he procured for him the daughter of the earl of Boulogne, one of the greatest fortunes in France. The similarity of the characters of Lewis and James is, at this time, striking: both of them hated their old nobility; both of them were devoted to the most culous superstitions; and both them had also a violent passion for pilgrimages. Lewis had given a barber the management of his finances, and James had committed his to the care of Rogers, an English fidler^k.

James was now so much teized by Dr. Ireland, whom Lewis had sent over as an emissary, that he dispatched ambassadors to England, requiring Edward to withdraw his assistance from the duke of Burgundy, who was then at war with the French king. This requisition, however, seems to have been a matter of form; for it appears that, **A.D. 1478.** in the beginning of the year 1478, a treaty of marriage was on foot between the king's second sister and the earl of Rivers, brother to the queen of England, which alliance did not take place. The continual practices of the French agents, at last, made an impression upon James, and he showed dispositions for invading England. His greatest difficulty in breaking with Edward lay in his being obliged to repay the money he had received of the princess Cecily's fortune, in case the intended marriage between her and the prince of Rothesay should not be completed. But we are told, with great probability, that, on this head,

^k Drummond.

Lewis offered to make him easy out of his own finances. James being thus resolved on a breach with England, was well furnished with pretexts for beginning the war. The earl of Douglas and his partizans were in greater favour at Edward's court than ever : and the garrison of Dunbar, had been received in England as the friends and allies of that nation. The earl of Ross was discontented, and he, with one sir Alexander Rait, had withdrawn to England, after being summoned to appear before the Scottish parliament, and forfeited for their non-appearance.

The war began by mutual hostilities upon the borders, with the connivance of both kings. But James, to keep up appearances, sent a herald to the English court, with offers to redress all attempts that had been made by his subjects against the truce, provided that Edward would do the like. The latter, who had been long uneasy at the connections between James and Lewis, detained the messenger some time, and then sent him back without an answer. The truth is, that he had now come to a resolution how to act, and had by this time appointed his brother, the duke of Gloucester, his lieutenant-general against James. Both nations were now prepared for hostilities; but when James was marching at the head of his army to the frontiers, he was met by a nuncio from the pope, who commanded him to lay aside his enterprize, as the Turks were then threatening the ruin of all Christendom; upon which James, not doubting that the same injunction had been laid upon Edward, disbanded his army. Edward was under no papal influence, and his army being on foot, he ordered it to enter the borders of Scotland, great part of which he ravaged. The inhabitants, though unprotected by the royal troops, stood on their defence, and repelled the invaders. Upon this Edward ordered a general rendezvous of his troops in the North, and laid siege to Berwick, which, however, they were soon obliged to abandon.

A.D. 1480.

War with
England.

Edward, being frustrated in this enterprize, determined to renew the invasion next year; but finding that, by the vigorous resolutions of the Scottish parliament, great preparations were made on the borders to receive him, he thought proper to lay aside his design.

A.D. 1481.

Edward had for some time kept up a correspondence with the duke of Albany, whose difficulties and discontents he well knew. To purchase the services of that prince, he

A.D. 1482.

*Infamous
agreement
of the duke
of Albany
and Ed-
ward.*

offered to procure for him the crown of Scotland, which the duke was to hold of Edward. Lewis, at whose court the duke of Albany then was, having some suspicion of this compact, the duke was so narrowly watched, that a ship, commanded by one James Douglas, was sent to carry him off by stealth from France; which stratagem was accordingly effected^m. It appears that the duke, on his arrival in England, had an interview with Edward in the castle of Fotheringay, where they entered into articles of agreement. In this negociation the duke of Albany is styled Alexander, king of Scotland, by the gift of the king of England; a meanness which never had disgraced even the titles of Baliol. The whole of the agreement is infamous, and almost beyond example.

James, mean time, was pursuing his peaceful occupations at Stirling, where he usually held his court. Cochran had now got so much the ascendancy over his affections, that there was no access to the royal presence but through him. The king made him a present of the revenues of the earldom of Mar; but whether he dignified him with the title is a matter of some doubt. It is agreed on all hands, that this upstart made a most unworthy use of his master's favour, and that at last he obtained a power of coinage, which he abused so much, as to endanger an insurrection of the populace. Though this man stands in history as the most distinguished of James's favourites, because none among them, beside him, appears to have been concerned in the management of public affairs, yet the names of others are mentioned, of professions less reputable than that of Cochran. Among these were James Hommil, a taylor; Leonard, a blacksmith; and Torisfan, a fencing-master.

While these despicable minions engrossed the king's favour, many meetings were held by the nobility, and some dutiful messages were sent in their name to James, petitioning him to dismiss his worthless favourites, and to take men of virtue, rank, and family, into his confidence. To these messages James replied, that he employed noblemen as his ministers in the great affairs of state, but that he saw no right they had to advise him in the management of his domestic concerns; that the persons they complained of were men whom he loved and could trust, nor would he dismiss one of them at the request of the lords.

^m Lesley.

Edward was now ready to carry into execution his intended invasion of Scotland; the conducting of which was entrusted to the duke of Gloucester and the duke of Albany. An attempt was made by the English to surprise Berwick, and another descent was made at the mouth of the Forth; but the former miscarried through the bravery of the garrison, and the latter by the excellent dispositions which had been made by the parliament. The two dukes continued their march, and renewed the siege of Berwick; upon which James issued summonses for assembling an army, with forty days provisions for each man. An excellent army was accordingly raised, but it was commanded by officers who were disgusted with the conduct of James, and some of them in confederacy with the duke of Albany and the earl of Douglas. Cochran seems to have had the charge of the artillery, great part of which was taken from the castle of Edinburgh. The army, consisting of about twenty-four thousand men, marched from Edinburgh to Sourtry, and thence to Lawder, a town lying on the confines of Merse and Teviotdale. Here the confederated lords resolved to put their great scheme in execution. They are said to have consisted of twenty-four noblemen, the chief of whom were the earl of Angus and the lord Evandale; the former being president of the council, and the latter chancellor of the kingdom. Some of the noblemen had always been eminently attached to the crown, and were still so to the person of James; but they were now unanimously resolved to make a distinction between the king's personal and political capacity, and, whatever repugnance he might show, to remove the evil counsellors from before the throne.

James raises an army.

The army lay encamped between the town and church of Lawder, and the lords, after some deliberation, resolved to remove the king, with some of his least exceptionable domestics (but without offering any violence to his person) to the castle of Edinburgh, and to hang all his worthless favourites over Lawder bridge, the common place of execution. Their deliberation was not kept so secret as not to come to the ears of the favourites, who, suspecting the worst, awakened James before day-break, and, informing him of the meeting, he ordered Cochran to repair to it, and to bring him an account of its proceedings. Cochran, it is said, rudely knocked at the door of the church, just after the assembly had finished their consultation; and upon sir Robert Douglas, of Lochleven (who was appointed to watch the

Cochran and his associates hanged at Lawder.

door), informing them that the earl of Mar demanded admittance, the earl of Angus ordered the door to be thrown open, and, rushing upon Cochran, he pulled from his neck a massy gold chain, saying, that a rope would become him better; while sir Robert Douglas stripped him of a costly blowing-horn; which he wore by his side, telling him he had been too long the hunter of mischief. Cochran, struck with astonishment, asked them, whether they were in jest or earnest; but they soon convinced him they were in earnest, by pinioning down his arms with a common halter, until he should be carried to execution^a.

*James is
confined to
the castle of
Edinburgh.*

The earl of Angus, with some of the chief lords, attended by a detachment of troops, then repaired to the king's tent, where they seized his other favourites, Thomas Preston, sir William Rogers, James Hommil, William Torrisan, and Leonard, and upbraided him, in very rude terms, with his misconduct in government, and in private life, not only for being counselled by those minions, but for keeping company with a lady, who was called the Daisy. James appears to have made no resistance. He only interceded for the safety of a young gentleman, one John Ramsay, of Balmain; and Cochran, with his other worthless favourites, were hanged over Lawder-bridge before his eyes, while himself was conducted, under an easy restraint, to the castle of Edinburgh, and the army was disbanded. From the last mentioned measure there is reason to suspect, that the well-intentioned lords were the dupes of those who were privately confederated with the duke of Albany and the earl of Douglas; for nothing could be more impolitic than disbanded the army, at a juncture when the enemy was upon the frontiers.

The English army consisted of twenty-two thousand five hundred fighting men, well armed, and provided with every thing that could render successful an expedition, which was designed to place an usurper on the throne of his brother, and to subject the liberties of Scotland to her most inveterate and dangerous enemies. Beside the army, which, with its artillery, was ordered to rendezvous at Alnwick about the beginning of July, the English government had fitted out a fleet under the command of Robert Ratcliff; and this carried the cannon which was to form a-new the siege of Berwick, an operation which took place at the time when the catastrophe at Lawder, and the dissolution of the Scottish army happened.

^a Lesley.

No sooner were these events known with certainty in the English camp, than the dukes of Gloucester and Albany (the latter of whom seems to have had no actual command in the expedition) committed the siege of Berwick to lord Stanley, with four thousand men, and marched forwards with the rest of the army, to Edinburgh, where they arrived without meeting any opposition.

James continued in the castle of Edinburgh; but all orders were issued in his name, and all royal honours were paid to his person. It is probable that those noblemen, who had no farther views than the reformation of his government, were convinced that the king ought to remain where he was, to keep him out of the hands of the duke of Albany and his faction, because he had no army on foot sufficient to fight them and the English. That duke, meanwhile, affected great tenderness for his country; and the English, in their march, had carefully avoided all acts of violence and rapine. But those precautions failed in procuring him, at Edinburgh, a reception answerable to his expectations.

While the dukes of Albany and Gloucester remained at Edinburgh, they made no attempt upon the castle; nor does it appear that the English army entered the city. Perhaps Gloucester, who now received intelligence of a body of Scots assembling at Haddington, entertained some apprehensions, that they might soon be in a condition to cut off his return to England. Among the Scottish nobility assembled at Haddington, were the archbishop of St. Andrew's, the bishop of Dunkeld, the lord chancellor Evandale, and the earl of Argyle, all of them true patriots, and active in the service of their country, but willing to preserve it from a foreign, as well as a domestic war. They sent notice to the duke of Gloucester, that they were ready to enter into a negotiation to preserve the peace of their country, and desired to know the duke's terms. These were very moderate, and chiefly respected the pretended original grounds of the war, which were, the repayment of the money advanced by Edward as the portion of the lady Cécily, and some indemnification for the depredations which had been committed upon the borders. The Scottish lords endeavoured to evade the payment of the money, by offering that the marriage should be immediately celebrated. This proposal was declined by Richard, who pretended that his instructions from his brother were confined to an immediate payment of the money;

ney; but he seems to have dropped his claim of an indemnification for depredations.

The demand of the duke of Albany came next under consideration; and though it be certain that, by this time, James and the mediating lords knew of his designs upon the crown, they wisely resolved upon moderate measures. They were sensible of the provocation the duke had received before he became an outlaw; and therefore they agreed, that if he would conduct himself as a dutiful subject, he should be free from all bodily harm, and they should prevail with their sovereign to restore him to all the possessions which he enjoyed at the time of his leaving the kingdom. It was also agreed, that his majesty should grant to him, and to all persons engaged in his service, a free pardon for all the crimes they had committed, provided always, that they should henceforth behave as faithful subjects. In this agreement, the interests of the earl of Douglas and his followers were entirely sacrificed, because the lords did not think that their case admitted of the same alleviation as that of the duke of Albany.

During the negotiation with the duke of Albany, the treaty between Gloucester and the mediating lords was suspended; but they agreed upon a truce; and the duke seems to have received fresh instructions from his brother in the interval. He renewed the demand of the princess Margaret, sister to James, for the earl of Rivers, brother to the queen of England. This the Scots agreed to; and Edward actually sent a safe-conduct for the royal bride to repair to England, but the marriage never took effect.

The repayment of lady Cecily's fortune came next to be settled; and on this head the English were satisfied by the interposition of the provost and burgeses of Edinburgh, who obliged themselves to refund the disbursement made by the king of England, in regard to that treaty of marriage°. In consequence of this agreement, Edward sent Garter, king at arms, to inform the government of Scotland, that, on several accounts, he could not comply with the marriage of his daughter to the duke of Rothesay; upon which the town of Edinburgh immediately paid all the money that had been advanced for her portion, the whole amounting to six thousand pounds sterling. In gratitude for this generous act of the citizens, James enlarged their privileges.

° Drummond.

These negotiations being concluded, the English army returned homeward; and James, having regained his liberty, repaired to the abbey of Holyrood-house, with his brother, who now acted as his first minister. All the lords who were near the capital came to pay him their compliments; but James was so much exasperated at what had happened, that he committed sixteen of them prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh, among whom was the lord chancellor. The great court which was now paid to the duke, revived in the mind of James all his former hatred of his brother; whose enemies soon practised upon the king's jealousy in such a manner, that the duke, perceiving he was suspected, withdrew all of a sudden from court to his strong castle of Dunbar. Here he renewed his treasonable practices, by sending commissioners to treat with the king of England concerning such things as had been agreed on at the castle of Fotheringay. After a negotiation of two days between the commissioners on each side, it was agreed, beside other articles, that the duke of Albany should, with the assistance of Edward, endeavour the conquest of Scotland, that, being settled on that throne, he might be enabled to do great service to the king of England and his heirs, against the occupiers of the crown of France. At the same time the earl of Angus, lord Gray, and sir James Liddel, who were Albany's commissioners, obliged themselves by their faith, honour, and knight-hood, that, in case the duke of Albany should die without heirs to succeed him in the throne of Scotland, they, their friends, vassals, and dependents, should never live under the allegiance of any other prince but the king of England; and that they should, with all their power, keep their castles and strong holds from James, the present king of Scotland.

A.D 1483.

Fresh treasons of the duke of Albany.

When Edward concluded this treaty, he was preparing for a war against France, and consequently against Scotland, her ally; but his enterprizes were defeated by his death, which happened on the 9th of April following. His brother, afterwards Richard the Third, who was guardian to his two nephews, had formed designs which were incompatible with a war either against Scotland or France; and the duke of Albany saw once more all his mighty projects blasted. He had no refuge but in England, to which he again fled, after putting his castle of Dunbar in a posture of defence. James summoned him to the proper judicatory, to answer for his treasons; and, upon his not appearing, his estate was a second time for-

seized to the crown, as was that of the lord Crichton, who had likewise fortified his castle against James^p.

A.D. 1484. Upon the duke's arrival in England he was kindly received by Richard, to whom it is said he surrendered the castle of Dunbar. Richard also, not only confirmed the pension which his predecessors had settled on the earl of Douglas, but augmented it with two hundred pounds a year. Richard was too sensible of the benefit he must receive by keeping Scotland embroiled, to relinquish entirely the cause of those illustrious exiles, who were likewise continually inciting him to an invasion of their native country. They had actually assembled a body of foot upon the borders; and Richard, upon their earnest application, in the beginning of the year 1484, consented to lend them five hundred horse to make an impression upon the southern parts of Scotland; but this force was not in readiness to act before the 22d of July. The plan of their operations was equally mean and rapacious, as their object was no other than to plunder a great fair which was held at Lochmaben. The inhabitants of the country, however, uniting against them, they were disappointed in their aim. The encounter lasted from noon till night, both parties being reinforced by fresh supplies; but at last the people of the country proved victorious. The duke of Albany, by the goodness of his horse, escaped back to England; but the earl of Douglas was made prisoner, and carried in triumph to Edinburgh. When this aged rebel appeared before James, he turned his back, as ashamed to behold the king. The latter treated him in a generous manner; for, instead of punishing him as a traitor, he indulged him in choosing that way of life which was most suitable to his age and infirmities; and permitted him to retire to the abbey of Lindores, where the earl had received some part of his education^q.

*Douglas
made pri-
soner at
the battle
of Kirkon-
nel.*

Scotland had now for a few years enjoyed a respite from war, but the continuance of peace gave rise to public licentiousness, which it required the utmost vigour and assiduity of the executive power to restrain. But the machinations of the factious noblemen, were yet more difficult to counteract; and though the person of the earl of Douglas was immured in a monastery, his spirit was operating with as much activity as ever. About this time the king, indulging his refined taste in architecture, erected in Stirling castle a most sumptuous hall, with a college,

^p Drummond. Buchanan. ^q Abercromby. Drummond.

called

called the Chapel Royal, the building and endowing of which had led him into considerable expence; and he had resolved to assign the revenues of the rich priory of Coldingham for that purpose. This priory had been generally held by one of the name of Hume, and that family, through length of time, considered themselves as entitled to it by prescriptive right, and therefore strongly opposed the king's intention. The dispute seems to have lasted some years; for the former parliament had passed a vote, annexing the priory to the Chapel Royal; and the present parliament had passed a statute, strictly prohibiting all persons, spiritual and temporal, from attempting any thing directly or indirectly, contrary to that annexation. The Humes, however, resented their being stripped of so considerable a revenue, and they united themselves with the Hepburns, another powerful and discontented clan in that neighbourhood, under the lord Hales. An association was drawn up, by which both families engaged to stand by each other, and not suffer any prior to be received for Coldingham, if he was not of one of their surnames. This association was evidently treasonable; but their opposition would have been ineffectual, had not other noblemen, the earl of Angus in particular, been discontented with the king. The lords Gray and Drummond soon joined the association, as did many other noblemen and gentlemen, who had their particular causes of discontent. Their emissaries gave out, that the king was grasping at arbitrary power; that he had acquired his popularity by deep hypocrisy; and that he was resolved to be signally revenged upon all who had been accessory to the executions at Lawder. The earl of Angus, who was the soul of the confederacy, advised the conspirators to apply to the old earl of Douglas to head them. But that nobleman was now dead to all ambition, and, instead of encouraging the conspirators, he exhorted them to break off all their rebellious connexions, and return to their duty, expressing the most sincere contrition for his own past conduct. So much was he averse to such measures, that he wrote to his numerous friends, and the descendents of his family, dissuading them from entering into the conspiracy^r.

A.D. 1487.

Confederacy of the Scottish lords against James.

James appears to have been no stranger to the proceedings of the conspirators; but instead of supporting his government by the vigorous execution of the

^r Drummond. Lesley.

laws, he shut himself up in his beloved castle of Stirling, and raised a body-guard, the command of which he gave to the lord Bothwell, the same whom he had saved at Lawder bridge. He likewise issued a proclamation, forbidding any person in arms to approach the court; and Bothwell had a warrant to see the edict put in execution. But James had other resources than the laws for his protection. He was master of his own seas, and the mouth of the rivers, by his navy, commanded by Andrew Wood, a brave and zealous officer in his cause: his forts were strong, well supplied with stores, and well garrisoned: his finances were in good order: he was upon a good footing with the princes of the continent; and, above all, he found his neighbour, the king of England, disposed to enter into the most intimate connexions with him. The conspirators were so much alarmed at the treaties which were in agitation between the two kings, that they resolved to strike the blow before James could avail himself of an alliance which seemed to place him above all opposition. The acquisition of Berwick to the crown of Scotland, which was looked upon to be as good as concluded; the proposed marriage of the duke of Rothesay with the daughter of the dowager, and sister to the consort, queen of England; and, above all, the strict harmony which subsisted between James and the states of his kingdom, rendered the conspirators in a manner desperate. To derive, however, as much benefit as possible from the measures of James, they endeavoured to turn the alliance with England to his prejudice, affirming that Scotland was soon to become a province of England, and that James intended to govern his subjects by an English force. These specious allegations did the conspirators great service, and inclined many, even of the moderate party, to their cause. Having prepared for an insurrection, they appointed their rendezvous, and, in a short time, all the south of Scotland was in arms. James continued to rely upon the authority of his parliament, and summoned, in the terms of law, the insurgents to answer, at their proper tribunals, for their breaches of the peace. The conspirators, far from paying any regard to his citations, set the laws of their country at open defiance. Even north of the Forth, the heads of the houses of Gray and Drummond, spread the spirit of disaffection through the counties of Fife and Angus; but the counties north of the Grampians continued firm in their duty.

*An insur-
rection.*

As a pretended apprehension that the king designed to subject Scotland to the English crown, was the chief, if not the only motive urged by the rebels for their appearing in arms, they endeavoured to work upon the tender mind of the duke of Rothefay, then a promising youth, about fifteen years of age, to give strength and sanction to their cause^s.

Meanwhile James, finding the inhabitants of the southern provinces were either openly engaged in the rebellion, or at best observed a cold neutrality, embarked on board a vessel for Stirling, where, on his arrival, he gave orders that the duke of Rothefay should be put into the care of one Schaw of Sauchie, governor of the castle, charging him not to suffer the prince, upon any account, to depart out of the fort. The rebels, giving out that James had fled to Flanders, intercepted his equipages and baggage, among which they found a large sum of money, that proved of the utmost consequence to their affairs. They then surprised the castle of Dunbar, and plundered the houses of all to the south of the Forth whom they suspected of attachment to the king.

James was all this time making a progress, and holding courts of justice in the North, where the great families were entirely devoted to his service. Every day brought him fresh alarms from the South, which left him no farther room either for delay or deliberation. The conspirators, notwithstanding the promising appearance of their affairs, found that in a short time their cause must languish, unless they were furnished with fresh pretexts, and headed by a person of the greatest authority. In this emergence the earl of Angus boldly proposed the duke of Rothefay; and an application was made to Schaw, who secretly favoured their cause, and was prevailed upon, by a considerable sum of money, to put the prince into their hands, and to declare in their favour. This transaction was so secret, that several days passed before the king heard that the rebellion was headed by his eldest son. To give the better colour to this infamous proceeding, the most exceptionable passages of James's life were ripped open; and it was insinuated, that the tyrant who had murdered one of his brothers, and doomed the other to death, would not spare his eldest son, if he should conceive a prejudice against him; and that the insurgents were only guarding the prince from the violence of his father.

The duke of Rothefay heads the rebels.

• Buchanan. Drummond.

*James as-
sembles his
army.
He is be-
trayed by
the gover-
nor of Stir-
ling castle.*

James soon assembled at Perth an army of thirty thousand men, with which he proceeded to Stirling; but was astonished when he was not only denied entrance, but saw the guns pointed against his person, and understood, for the first time, that his son was at the head of the rebels. The king lay that night in the town of Stirling, where he was joined by all his army; and understanding that the rebels were advancing, he formed his line of battle. An accommodation is said to have been effected at this time, but it proved abortive. James afterwards, to give his northern troops time to join him, proposed a negotiation; but that was soon at an end, upon the rebels peremptorily requiring him to resign his crown to his son, or, in other words, to themselves.

The rebels, who consisted chiefly of borderers, were well armed and disciplined, and inured to war, in which they had greatly the advantage of the king's troops. What the numbers were on each side, does not clearly appear; but there is reason to think that James was superior in strength to the rebels. The latter were then at Falkirk; but they soon passed the Carron, and encamped above the bridge near Torwood, where they made such dispositions as rendered a battle unavoidable, unless James would have abandoned his army, and gone onboard Wood's ships; but he did not know himself, and resolved on a battle. He was encamped at a small brook, called Sauchie Burn, near the same spot where the great Bruce had defeated the English under Edward II. The earl of Monteth, the lords Areskine, Graham, Ruthven, and Maxwell, commanded the first line of the royal army. The second was commanded by the earl of Glencairn, who was at the head of the Westland and Highland men. The earl of Crawford, with the lord Boyd, and Lindsay of Byres, commanded the rear, in which the king's main strength consisted, and himself appeared in person, mounted on horseback.

The first line of the royalists obliged that of the rebels to give way; but the latter, being supported by the Anandale men and the borderers, the first and second lines of the king's army were beat back to the third. The little courage which James possessed had forsaken him at the first onset; and he put spurs to his horse, intending to gain the banks of the Forth, and to go on board one of Wood's ships. In passing through the village of Bannockburn, a woman, who was filling her pitcher at the brook, frightened at the sight of a man in armour galloping full speed, left it behind her; and the horse taking

fright,

fright, the king was thrown to the ground, and carried, bruised and maimed, by a miller and his wife, into their hovel. He immediately called for a priest to make his confession; and the rustics demanding his name and rank, he incautiously replied, "I was your king this morning." The woman, struck with astonishment, clapped her hands, and running to the door, called for a priest to confess the king. A man who chanced to be passing by, said, "I am a priest, lead me to his majesty." Being introduced into the hovel, he saw the king covered with a coarse cloth; and kneeling by him, he asked his majesty whether he thought he could recover, if proper assistance were procured? James answering in the affirmative, the villain pulled out a dagger, and stabbed him to the heart; he was afterwards buried at Cambuskeneth^b. The name of the assassin is said to have been sir Andrew Borthwick, a priest, one of the pope's knights; but both the name and quality of the person are uncertain.

11th June.
*Murder of
the king.*

James was only thirty-five years of age at the time of his death. The misfortunes of this prince appear to have been owing chiefly to superstition, which was the fault of the age. One of the impostors he consulted, had told him that he was to be destroyed by the nearest of his kin; and if James was guilty of taking away the life of one of his brothers, and proscribing the other, it is to be imputed to that prediction. It is universally acknowledged, that he was a great encourager of the arts; nor can it be denied, that his administration was distinguished by several transactions of great importance to the kingdom. His discharging the annual of Norway, a tribute which had been paid to that crown ever since the cession of the islands to Alexander the Third of Scotland, the re-annexing the islands of Orkney and Shetland to his kingdom, the high spirit with which he behaved to Edward the Fourth, Richard the Third, and Henry the Seventh, reflect the greatest honour on his memory. The recovery of the town of Berwick was as glorious to his reign, as the losing it was infamous to his brother and the associated rebels; and no king of Scotland ever appeared with greater respect than James the Third in the eyes of foreign powers. His issue was James, who succeeded him, Alexander duke of Ross, and John earl of Mar.

There is reason to think that the royalists lost the battle through the cowardice of James. Even after his flight, his troops fought bravely; but they were damped on receiving certain intelligence of his death. As soon as

* Drummond. Buch.

that was ascertained, hostilities seemed to cease ; nor were the royalists pursued. The number of slain on both sides is uncertain ; but, as several noblemen and gentlemen of eminence are mentioned, it must have been considerable. The duke of Rothsay, young as he was, had an idea of the unnatural part he was acting ; and before the battle, he had given a strict charge for the safety of his father's person. Upon hearing that the king had retired from the field, he sent orders that none should pursue him ; and when the news of his catastrophe arrived, the prince appeared inconsolable. But the rebels endeavoured to efface his grief, by the profusion of honours which they paid him on his being recognized king¹.

J A M E S IV.

A.D. 1487.

AS the young prince had been at the head of the rebels, the adherents of the late king were under great difficulties how to behave, between the desire of revenging that sovereign's death, and their loyalty to the present. It was, however, necessary for the conspirators to provide for their own safety ; and a parliament was summoned to meet on the 6th of October. Here they passed the famous act, by which they justified their rebellion against the late king, which in the law-books is called, *The Proposition of the Debate of the Field of Stirling*. It is, however, fortunate for the memory of that prince, that no special act of tyranny or oppression, and no infraction of the constitution were produced against James, all the allegations against him being vague and unsupported.

*The rebels
vindicate
the regi-
cide.*

The confederated lords next proceeded to their great and arduous task, that of vindicating their rebellion in the eyes of the law and the public. They seem, by the force of adulation, to have, at this time, calmed the king's grief, though it afterwards broke out with great violence ; and he consented that the lords who had taken part with his father at the battle of Stirling, should be summoned to appear before the parliament, and answer for their conduct. Their design in this, was not to punish them as traitors, but, if possible, to oblige them by forgiveness. By these proceedings the regicides sought to draw a veil over their crimes ; but they continued to load the memory of the late unfortunate king, by enacting severe penalties against those who had taken arms in his

¹ Drummond. Buch.

cause. Meanwhile, many of the most respectable noblemen considered their king as being little better than a prisoner in the hands of his father's murderers, or, at least, made that a pretext for taking arms. Of those, the lord Lenox was the most forward, and had raised two thousand men, at the head of whom he marched to Stirling, with an intention to surprise the town and castle; but finding the pass of Stirling-bridge guarded, he encamped at a place called Fillymoss. But intelligence of his motions being secretly conveyed to lord Drummond, the latter, at the head of a party of soldiers, marched with such expedition, that he not only defeated the earl of Lenox, but, pursuing the blow, took the strong castle of Dumbarton, of which the earl was governor^k.

The great reputation which Wood had acquired in Scotland, was of infinite service to the government. He was, perhaps, the best seaman of the age, and one of the best subjects. After he had regained his ships, Henry VII. of England, who had heard with horror of the king's murder, offered to lend him five ships to revenge it. Wood accepted of the proposal, and the ships accordingly arrived in the Forth. Their crews being under very bad discipline, instead of obeying Wood, landed on both sides of the river, plundered the Scots merchantmen, and ravaged the coasts. Wood interposed his authority, but in vain; and finding their conduct become every day more outrageous, he at last separated his little squadron from theirs, but without venturing to attack them. The government, hearing of this noble behaviour, advised James to send for Wood, and to offer him a pardon and a commission to act against the free-booters. We are in the dark as to the instructions which had been given by Henry; but it is certain that Wood came ashore, appeared before the council, accepted of his pardon and commission, and undertook the service. James and his council desired him to call for what artillery or assistance of shipping he pleased, but Wood refused to employ any other than his two favourite ships; and being well provided with ammunition, he fell in with the English squadron at the mouth of the Forth, off the castle of Dunbar; and, after a desperate engagement, he made prizes of all the five ships, and brought their crews prisoners to Leith, for which service he was nobly rewarded by James.

A.D. 1489.

*The English
defeated at
sea.*

^k Drummond. Buch.

This gallant action acquired reputation to the new government, both at home and abroad ; but Henry was determined to resent the disrespect which had been shewn to his squadron. It appears that Wood's ships were fitted out for commerce as well as for war ; and that after the defeat of the English squadron, he had sailed upon a trading voyage to the coast of Flanders. Henry, intending that he should be intercepted on his return, employed sir Stephen Bull, the bravest of his naval officers, for that service ; and furnished him with three of the best ships in his fleet, well equipped, and supplied with artillery and stores. With this squadron Bull sailed for the Forth, and stationing his ships at the back of the Isle of May, he sent his armed boats up the Forth, where they took and destroyed all the fishing vessels ; but detaining some of the most expert of their crews in his own ships, he promised them a reward, if they would keep a look-out, and, as they were best acquainted with Wood's ships, inform him when they appeared. They were discovered on a morning under sail, off St. Ebb's-head, advancing briskly, without any knowledge or fear of an enemy. The English ships were larger than those of the Scots, and carried a much heavier weight of metal. Bull, therefore, thinking himself secure of his prey, bore down, and fired two guns upon Wood's ships, as a summons for their surrendering. The Scottish commander no sooner perceived them, than he knew them to be the enemy. He addressed the crews of his two ships in an animating speech, to which they returned the strongest declarations that they would stand by him to the last. The engagement began in the sight of numberless spectators, who lined both sides of the river. It lasted all that day, and was renewed the next morning with increased fury ; but an ebb-tide and a south wind bore both squadrons to the mouth of the Tay, where the English ships fought with great disadvantage on account of the sand-banks ; and before they could get clear of them, the Scots redoubling their efforts, carried the three ships prizes into Dundee. After such of the English as had been wounded in the action were cured, Wood carried Bull and his mariners to Edinburgh, where he presented them to James. That prince, by this time, severely felt the stings of remorse for the part he had acted against his father ; and after generously making presents of money to the English commander, his officers, and crews, he dismissed them without any

ransom, with a letter to Henry, who returned him a polite answer, and expressed a willingness to treat of an accommodation. A negotiation was accordingly entered into, and a truce soon after concluded.^m A.D. 1490.

James now grew towards the age of maturity, and, like his father, he chiefly resided at Stirling. On a presumption that the interdict, which had been laid upon the kingdom by the pope, affected only those who were in arms against the late king, the divine service, as usual, was performed in the royal chapel, where James every day heard his own welfare prayed for, and the murder of his royal father most bitterly lamented. This sunk deep into his mind, and he consulted the dean of the chapter about the means of atoning for his crime. The dean, who knew the power of the ministry, was shy of giving him any counsel, and advised him only in general to repentance. In this situation, we are told that James, as a penance, secretly begirt his body with an iron chain, to which he proposed to add a link for every two or three years of his life. About this time the nation was relieved by the absolution of the pope, who also sent James a consolatory bull, tending to alleviate the anguish of his mind for his father's death, and throwing all the guilt upon the nobles, who had seduced his tender age from the paths of his duty. A.D. 1491.

In 1495, Henry, observing the growing prosperity of Scotland, the harmony that subsisted between the king and his subjects, and the respect in which James was held by all the courts of Europe, at last offered the Scottish king his eldest daughter, Margaret, in marriage. But this match, illustrious as it was, seems to have carried with it so little temptation for James, that he openly espoused the cause of Perkin Warbeck, the pretender to Henry's crown, and invaded England next year. The news of this invasion was received with great indignation by the English parliament; and Henry, after suppressing the Cornish rebellion, sent the earl of Surry with a strong army northward, to the relief of Norham-castle, which was besieged by the Scots, who retired on the approach of the enemy. A.D. 1496.

This invasion, however, served only to accelerate an accommodation between the two crowns. The daughter of the king and queen of Spain, was at this time espoused

^m Drummond.

by the prince of Wales. What opinion they entertained of Perkin's pretensions to the crown, is uncertain ; but they could not be easy while he was so powerfully protected in Scotland. They had repeatedly expressed their apprehensions on that head to Henry, and he resolved to sacrifice all considerations to their friendship. He therefore immediately recalled the earl of Surry, who had taken from the Scots the castle of Ayton, and he appointed commissioners to resume the treaty of marriage, but first to negotiate a truce. James, who now heartily repented of his late expedition, embraced the proposal, and also nominated commissioners for the purpose. The commissioners on both sides had several meetings at Ayton ; but the negotiation meeting with great difficulties, they agreed to refer their differences to Ayala, the Spanish ambassador to the court of England, who had been furnished with full powers to take upon him the negotiation. The two kings, therefore, agreeing to stand to the award of D'Ayala, a seven years truce was agreed upon, for their respective dominions and their allies.

Notwithstanding this truce, the negotiation met with great difficulties. The English insisted upon receiving an indemnification for the breach of the former truce, and for the damage that had been done to their country during the late invasion. This being absolutely refused by the Scots, the English commissioners warmly insisted upon Perkin Warbeck's being delivered up to their master. This was a measure which was perfectly consistent with the honour as well as the interest of James to have complied with, had he believed Perkin to have been an impostor ; but he thought the proofs of his allegations were so strong, that he could not abandon him ; and indeed all the other powers in Europe seem to have been of the same opinion. All that James could be brought to consent to, was to send Perkin out of Scotland, but in an honourable manner, which he accordingly did ^P.

The marriage negotiation finished.

That James had no great inclination for the English match, seems to be past all doubt ; for, though they ratified all that had been agreed upon by D'Ayala and his ministers, and though Henry had done the same, yet we find the former make no advances for the marriage. This might be partly occasioned by the youth of the princess, who was now only ten years of age ; but there is reason

for thinking that other obstacles interposed. In the year A.D. 1501. following, however, the marriage articles, and a treaty of perpetual peace, were concluded at Richmond.

In 1503, the young queen arrived in Scotland, where she was received with great magnificence, and the marriage celebrated with incredible splendour; not only English, but foreigners, from France, Germany, and other countries, attending as guests on the occasion.

James began now to make a great figure in the affairs of Europe, particularly those of the North. The magnificence of his court and embassies, his liberality to strangers and learned men, his costly edifices, and, above all, the large sums he laid out in ship-building, had now brought him into some difficulties; and he so far attended to the advice and example of his father-in-law, that he supplied his necessities by reviving dormant penal laws, by which he raised large sums. It does not appear that any remonstrances were made to James on this head; yet he had the virtue to be touched with the silent sufferings of his subjects, and ordered all prosecutions to be stopped.

About this time, James applied himself with great A.D. 1506. assiduity to building ships, one of which is supposed to have been the largest then in the world. The first essay of his naval armament was in favour of his kinsman, John, king of Denmark, who had partly been called to the throne of Sweden, and partly possessed it by force. He was opposed by the administrator, Sture, whom he pardoned after he was crowned. But Sture renewing his rebellion, and the Norwegians revolting at the same time, John found himself under such difficulties, that he was obliged to return to Denmark; leaving, however, his queen in possession of the castle of Stockholm, which she bravely defended against Sture and the Swedes. This heroic princess became a great favourite with James, and several letters that passed between them are still extant. The king of Denmark, next to the French monarch, was the closest ally of James, who, early in his reign, had compromised some differences between them. James, therefore, resolved to become a party in the war against the Swedes and the Lubeckers, who assisted them. With this view he sent a squadron into the North Seas, and obliged John's enemies to conclude a treaty.

James next turned his attention towards the Flemings and Hollanders, who had insulted his flag, on account of
the

A.D. 1507. the assistance he had afforded the duke of Guelders, as well as from motives of rapaciousness. James gave the command of a squadron to Barton, who immediately put to sea, and, without any ceremony, treated all the Dutch and Flemish traders who fell into his hands, as pirates, and sent their heads in hogsheds to James. This officer soon returned to Scotland, bringing with him a number of rich prizes, which rendered his reputation as a seaman famous all over Europe. James was now so much respected upon the continent, that we know of no resentment shewn, either by the court of Spain, whose subjects the people of the Netherlands were, or by any other power of Europe, for this vigorous proceeding.

James chastises the Netherlanders.

A.D. 1508. Though James, with regard to his connections on the continent, was no slave to the papal court, he seems to have been infatuated with the Romish religion. All the splendor in which he lived could not dispel the melancholy he had contracted for heading the rebels who had murdered his father; and he had sometimes extraordinary starts of devotion. His queen had, by this time, made him the father of a young prince, who did not long survive his birth; and the imminent danger of the queen, during her delivery, made James undertake a pilgrimage to St. Ninian's in Galloway, which was then much resorted to by the superstitious, both of England and Ireland, as well as of Scotland¹. Upon his return, he found his queen recovered; and then he applied himself more seriously than ever to the affairs of government. He made progresses in person through his kingdom; he presided at trials for notorious offences; he was particularly attentive to the redress of public grievances, and indefatigable in discovering them. A fresh fit of devotion seized him, and, accompanied with his queen, he performed another pilgrimage to St. Ninian. Not satisfied with this, James, upon his return, finding his dominions in perfect tranquillity, paid a visit to the shrine of St. Duthac in Ross-shire. The circumstances attending this pilgrimage are extraordinary. He set out from Stirling on the 30th of August, without any attendant, and travelling by Perth and Aberdeen, he reached Elgin the same night; so that he must have rode about a hundred and thirty miles in one day. This expedition, and his simple manner of travelling, render it probable, that the journey was not undertaken merely upon motives of devotion. When he arrived at Elgin,

Superstition of James.

¹ Lesley.

he chose to lodge in the parson's house, and slept all night upon a plain board table. Next day, in the forenoon, he reached St. Duthac's church, where he performed his devotions. Upon his return to court, he resumed his magnificent manner of living, and exhibited, as usual, martial sports.

Henry the Eighth, James's brother-in-law, was now on A.D. 1513. the English throne, and the alliance which the latter maintained with France, excited a jealousy between the neighbouring monarchs. Though James had, for some time, fully resolved on a rupture with England, yet he thought it highly necessary that it should have the sanction of his parliament, which he accordingly assembled for that purpose. The older and wiser counsellors, who saw the flourishing state of Scotland, arising from the encrease of their commerce, dreaded the ruinous consequences of a war: the queen naturally joined this party. They remonstrated, that his ally, the French king, was in no danger of being overpowered, as James apprehended; that the state of affairs on the continent would not warrant his invasion of England; and that, in reality, neither Henry nor his subjects had done any thing to provoke him to come to extremities, having offered him reasonable satisfaction for all his just complaints; and that the differences still unadjusted between them were too inconsiderable to occasion even any coldness between the two courts. They added, that as the prince of Scotland was yet in his cradle, the kingdom must be reduced to a most deplorable condition, in case of a minority. All those arguments made no impression upon James. He had received a fresh present from Lewis of four ships laden with wine and flour, and two ships of war completely equipped, one of them carrying thirty-four pieces of brass ordnance. He had engaged to the French queen, upon his honour, that he would take the field against the English. The pacific measures, therefore, of the wisest and best part of the nobility were over-ruled, and the expedition against England was resolved on.

By this time, the Scots herald had delivered the letter from James into Henry's hands, requiring him to desist from prosecuting the war against Lewis. Henry had no sooner read the letter, than he burst into a passion, reproaching the king of Scotland for having basely broken his faith and honour. He concluded with an absolute re-

*Invasion of
England.*

fatal of desisting from his expedition at the requisition of James ; and threatened that prince with reprisals, if he should presume to invade his dominions.

The earl of Hume, who was chamberlain of Scotland, was, at this juncture, at the head of seven or eight thousand men, with whom he committed prodigious devastations on the English borders. Henry's queen, Catharine, whom he had left regent of his dominions, issued orders for assembling the militia of many of the northern counties ; and the management of the war was given to the earl of Surry. The Scots had by this time laid great part of Northumberland waste, and were returning home with their booty. Surry resolved to intercept them ; and, for that purpose, ordered sir William Bulmer to form an ambush with a thousand men, at a place called Broomhouse, by which the enemy must pass. As the latter expected nothing of the kind, Bulmer executed his orders with great success. The archers assaulted the Scots all at once, and made such good use of their arrows, that the main body was put to flight, five hundred men killed, and four hundred taken ; the greatest part of the plunder being recovered at the same time¹.

James, exasperated by this defeat, continued, with additional vigour, his preparations for invading England ; while his queen endeavoured all in her power to divert him from his purpose. She endeavoured to work upon his superstition, by recounting to him her ominous dreams, and her boding apprehensions. But finding all her remonstrances of that kind vain, she had recourse to other arts. While James was waiting at Linlithgow for the arrival of his army from the North, he assisted one afternoon at the vespers in the church of St. Michael. Being placed in one of the canons seats, a venerable comely man, seemingly turned of fifty, dressed in a long garment of an azure-colour, and girded round with a towel or roll of linen, his forehead bald, and his yellow locks hanging down his shoulders, presented himself in the assembly. The church being crowded, this personage, with some difficulty, made his way to the king's seat, and leaning over it, spoke to the following purpose : " Sir, I am sent hither to entreat you for this time to delay your expedition, and to proceed no farther on your intended journey : for, if you do, you

¹ Buchanan.

shall not prosper in your enterprize, nor any of your followers. I am farther charged to warn you, if you be so refractory as to go forward, not to use the acquaintance, company or counsel of women, as ye tender your honour, life, and estate." After delivering these words, he retired through the crowd, and was no more seen, though, when the service was ended, James earnestly enquired after him ^m.

The queen, beside her other afflictions, had been wounded by jealousy that the king was unfaithful to her bed. In an inroad of the Scots into England, one Heron, the proprietor of the castle of Ford, had been made prisoner, and sent to Scotland, where he was detained on a charge of murder, of which he seems to have been innocent. Heron's wife and daughter had been some time soliciting James for his deliverance. The king was secretly smitten with the charms of the daughter; and the mother, who was an artful woman, knew how to avail herself of the conquest. Pretending that she had interest enough to procure the release of the lord Johnston and Alexander Hume, who were prisoners in England, she was permitted by James to maintain a correspondence with the earl of Surry, to whom she is said to have betrayed all James's secrets and measures. The rendezvous of the Scots army being at the Burrow-moor, James set off for that place; and, having given orders for the march of his artillery, he lodged at the abbey of Holyrood-house. While he was there, another attempt was made to divert him from his purpose of invading England, but in vain. James, deaf to all the solicitations of the queen, and to all remonstrances, mustered his army; and on the 22d of August he passed the Tweed, encamping that night near the banks of the Twissel. On his arrival at Twisselhaugh on the 14th, he called an assembly of his lords, and made a declaration, that the heirs of all such as should die in the army, or be killed by the enemy during his stay in England, should have their wards, relief, and marriages of the king, who, upon that account dispensed with their age. This fatal period was the crisis of his fate. Abandoned to his passion for his English mistress, she, at her mother's instigation, prevailed with him to trifle away his time for some days, to answer the purposes of the earl of Surry. That commander was then at Pomfret, and laid his plan so as not to bring his army

— Buchanan.

P

into

into the field, until James had advanced so far into England, as to render it difficult for him to retire without a general battle. This precaution assisted the lady Ford (as she is called) in persuading James that there was no danger in the delay, because the English had not the face of an army in the field.

*The Scots
take Nor-
ham.*

James, at last, proceeded to the siege of Norham-castle, which he battered so furiously, that it surrendered by capitulation in six days. He then marched to the castle of Etal, which he likewise took and demolished, as he did Wark, and arrived before the castle of Ford.

The Scottish army, which is generally allowed to have consisted of fifty thousand men when it passed the Tweed, was at this time encamped on the heights of Cheviot, in the heart of a country naturally barren, and now desolate through the precautions taken by the English general. Being obliged to extend their quarters for the benefit of subsistence, the mercenary part of them had acquired considerable plunder, with which, as usual, they retired to their own country, as many more did for want of subsistence. The wetness of the season rendered the earl of Surry's march, especially that of the artillery, extremely difficult; but on the 3d of September he marched from Newcastle for Alnwick, where he was reinforced by five thousand veteran troops, sent from the English army on the continent, under the command of his son, the lord-admiral of England; so that his force now amounted to twenty-six thousand men, all completely armed and provided for the field.

By this time, the army of James was, by desertion and other causes, reduced to less than half its original number; but the chief misfortune attending it was the king's own conduct. His indolence and inactivity, joined to the scandalous example of his amours, at such a season, had disgusted some of his greatest men and best friends; and some of them more than suspected a correspondence between the English lady and the earl of Surry. James was deaf to all their remonstrances; and the earl of Angus declared that he was resolved to return home, as he foresaw that the ruin of the army was inevitable through the obstinacy of James. He accordingly withdrew to Scotland, but left behind him his two sons. The lord Hume and the earl of Huntley were likewise discontented. The former had brought his men into the field, but, according to some Scottish historians, with a design rather to betray than to serve James; but the latter, though he disliked the

the king's conduct, remained firmly attached to his person.

The defection or backwardness of those great men seemed to make no impression upon James. He knew that he was beloved by the bulk of his army; that his nobility in general were passionately fond of glory, and devoted to his service; and he madly resolved to risk every thing, that he might oblige the court of France. He had chosen a strong camp in the neighbourhood of Ford, on the side of a mountain called Flodden-hill, and he was separated from the English army by the river Till. The earl of Surry now sent the king some proposals for an exchange of prisoners, which seems to have been calculated to give the lady Ford the more credit with James; but concluded with reproaches for his perfidious invasion of England, and a defiance for the Scots to fight him in a general battle. The herald was farther charged to acquaint James, that the earl of Surry had issued orders, that no quarter should be given to any of the Scottish army but the king himself.

On this occasion, the king called a council of war, in which the earl of Huntley and others made strong remonstrances against a general engagement. They showed how fatal it must prove to Scotland, if the enemy should be victorious; that the king had sufficiently evinced his friendship for France, by the powerful diversion he had given to the English army; that the earl of Surry would find it impossible to subsist his troops in a body for want of provisions; and that the wisest course James could follow was to return home, where, if he should be pursued by the enemy, he could fight to great advantage. The earl of Huntley, however, added, that his opinion should be determined by the king and council; and that he was equally ready to share in his majesty's danger or his glory.

Huntley, and the other noblemen, were opposed by the French ambassador, who represented a retreat as disgraceful to the nobility of Scotland, and the arms of James; and used many romantic arguments of the same kind, which but too well suited with the king's disposition. The king, therefore, sent the earl of Surry a message, importing, that he would give the English battle on the Friday following. The earl then ordered his army to march in the line of battle towards Woollerhaugh. The advanced posts of the English army were within three miles of the enemy, and the earl of Surry found his

difficulties daily increasing. The roads were broken up, the swelling of the rivers cut him off from the necessary communications for supplying his troops, and nothing but a battle could save them either from being disbanded or destroyed.

James seems to have so far regarded the advice of his wisest counsellors as not to abandon his strong situation. They endeavoured to persuade him, that it was a sufficient guard to his honour, if he did not decline the battle on the day appointed; and that his engagement did not bind him to fight upon disadvantageous ground. The Scots at the same time knew the distress of the enemy, and that the king wanted nothing but patience to be victorious. The Scots thus lying on the defensive, the earl of Surry again sent a herald to inform James, that he was ready to give him battle. It is certain, that James, who was sensibly touched at this tacit imputation upon his honour, neglected the necessary precautions for guarding the passages of the Till, which the English crossed, partly at a place where it was fordable, and partly at a bridge. It is said, that, while the English were passing the bridge, Borthwic, master of the Scottish artillery, fell upon his knees, and begged permission from James to point his cannon against the bridge; but that James answered him in a passion, that it must be at the peril of his (Borthwic's) head, and that he was resolved to see all his enemies that day on the plain before him in a body. The earl of Surry, after passing the river, took possession of Braxton, which lay to the right of the Scottish camp. By occupying this post, he cut off the communication of his enemies with the Tweed, and he commanded the Till below Eton-castle. The Scottish generals now saw themselves reduced to the same strait in which their enemies had been involved two days before, and their country open to an invasion of the English army. James had secret intelligence that this was far from being the intention of the English general; and, imagining that the latter's design was to take possession of a strong camp upon a hill between him and the Tweed, which would give the English a farther command of the country, he resolved to be beforehand with the earl, and gave orders for making large fires of green wood, that the smoke might cover his march along the height, to take advantage of that eminence. But while this stratagem concealed his march from the English, their movements were concealed from him: for, on his arrival at the brow of the height, he observed the enemy

enemy drawn up in order of battle on the plain ; but so close to the height where he was, that his artillery, on which he placed his great dependence, must over-shoot them.

A battle was now not only unavoidable, but the only means of saving the Scottish army, which, perhaps, was a circumstance far from being disagreeable to James. His person was so dear to his troops, that many of them dressed themselves as nearly as they could in similar coats of armour, and with the same distinctions that James wore that day. His generals had earnestly desired him to retire to a place of safety ; but he obstinately refused to follow their advice ; and, on the 9th of September, early in the morning, dispositions were made for the line of battle. The command of the van was allotted to the earl of Huntley ; the earls of Lenox and Argyll commanded the Highlanders under James, who, some say, served only as a volunteer ; and the earls of Crawford and Montrose led the body of reserve. The earl of Surry gave the command of his van to his son, the lord-admiral ; his right wing was commanded by his other son, sir Edward Howard ; and his left by sir Marmaduke Constable. The rear was commanded by the earl himself, lord Dacres, and sir Edward Stanley. Under those leaders served the flower of all the nobility and gentry then in England ^b.

The first motion of the English army was by the lord-admiral, who suddenly wheeled to the right, and seized a pass at Milford, where he planted his artillery so as to command the most sloping part of the ascent where the Scots were drawn up. This expedient, which they had not foreseen, did great execution, and threw them into such disorder, that the earl of Huntley found it necessary to attack the lord-admiral ; which was done with so much fury, that the latter was driven from his post ; and the consequence must have proved fatal to the English, had not his precipitate retreat been covered by some squadrons of horse under the lord Dacres, which gave the lord-admiral an opportunity of rallying his men. The earl of Surry now found it necessary to advance to the front, so that the English army formed one continued line, which galled the Scots with incessant discharges from the artillery and bows. The Highlanders, as usual, impatient to come to a close fight, and to share in the honour of the victory, which they now thought their own, rushed

^b Buchan.

down the declivity with their broad swords, but without order or discipline, and before the rest of the army, particularly the division under lord Hume, advanced to support them. Their impetuosity, however, made a considerable impression upon the main body of the English; and the king bringing up the earl of Bothwell's reserve, the battle became general. By this time, the lord-admiral, having again formed his troops, came to the assistance of his father, and charged the division under the earls of Crawford and Montrose, who were marching up to support the Highlanders, among whom the king, and his attendants, were now fighting on foot; while Stanley, making a circuit round the hill, attacked the Highlanders in the rear. Crawford and Montrose, not being seconded, according to the Scottish historians, by the Humes, were routed; and thus all that part of the Scottish army, which was engaged under their king, was completely surrounded by the division of the English under Surry, Stanley, and the lord-admiral. In this terrible situation, James acted with a coolness not common to his temper. He drew up his men in a circular form; and their valour more than once opened the ranks of the English, or obliged them to stand aloof, and again have recourse to their bows and artillery. The chief of the Scottish nobility renewed their endeavours to prevail with James to make his escape while it was practicable; but he obstinately continued the fight, and thereby became accessory to his own ruin, and that of his troops, whom the English would gladly have suffered to retreat. He saw the earls of Montrose, Crawford, Argyle, and Lenox, fall by his side, with the bravest of his men lying dead on the spot; and darkness now coming on, himself was killed by an unknown hand. The English were ignorant of the victory they had gained, and had actually retreated from the field of battle, in hopes of renewing the fight next morning.

*James and
his chief
nobility
killed.*

It was currently reported, that the king fled from the battle to the castle of Hume, where he was murdered; but nothing is more certain than that his body was found on the field. Many of James's domestics, who survived him, knew and mourned over his corpse; nor could the earl of Surry, who had often seen him, be mistaken as to the identity of his person. It appeared, that he had been shot through the body with an arrow, and that he had received a mortal wound in the head with a bill. As James died under a sentence of papal excommunication, for his interference in the war on the continent, Henry applied

to the holy see for leave to bury him; which being granted, the body of James was carried from Newcastle, and royally interred at Shene, in Surry^c. That the Scots did not re-claim the body was probably owing to particular circumstances; for the kingdom of Scotland being, as well as its king, under an interdict, the funeral service could not have been regularly performed over him in that country.

*James is
buried at
Shene.*

The Scots, however, still asserted, that it was not James's body which was found upon the field of battle, but that of one Elphinston, who had been habited and arrayed in arms like the king's, in order to divide the attention of the English. It was believed, that James had been seen crossing the Tweed at Kelso; and some imagined, that he had been killed by lord Hume's vassals, whom that nobleman had instigated to commit so enormous a crime. But the populace entertained the opinion that he was still living; and, having secretly gone in pilgrimage to the Holy Land, would soon return, and take possession of the throne. This fond conceit was long entertained among the Scots^d.

The accounts which even contemporary historians have given of this battle are so various and contradictory, that we are in the dark with respect to the numbers on both sides; and we are under the same uncertainty as to those who were killed. It seems probable that the number of the English exceeded that of the Scots before the battle; but that neither army consisted of above twenty-five thousand men. According to the Scottish historians, the number of slain was far greater on the side of the English than of the Scots; but Polydore Virgil, who lived at the same time, mentions the loss of the English to have been five thousand, and that of the Scots ten thousand men. The former, however, lost only persons of small note; but the flower of the Scottish nobility fell in the battle. Among these were, the archbishop of St. Andrew's, natural son to James, a youth of twenty years of age, whose character is celebrated by the elegant pen of Erasmus, his tutor; the bishop of the Isles; the earls of Crawford, Lenox, Errol, Athol, Morton, Argyle, Montrose, Caills, Bothwell, Rothes, Caithness, Glencairn; the lords Seton, Maxwell, and many others, beside a number of knights, and gentlemen of distinction.

James was slain by Rymer, son of Drummond.

James IV. is acknowledged to have had great accomplishments both of mind and body. His Latin epistles are classical, compared with the barbarous style of the foreign princes with whom he corresponded. Like his father, he had a taste for the fine arts, particularly that of sculpture. The attention he paid to the civilization of his people, and his distribution of justice, merit the highest praise. After all, the virtues of James appear to have been more shining than solid; and his character was that of a fine gentleman and a brave knight, rather than a wise or a great monarch. At the time of his death, he was only in his forty-first year. Like the princes of his family (to his great grandson James VI.) his person was handsome, vigorous, and active. From their coins it does not appear, that either he, or any of his predecessors of the Stuart race, wore their beards, as did all his successors, to the reign of Charles II.

James had, by the queen his wife, four sons, who all died in their infancy, except James, who succeeded him. His natural issue were, Alexander, archbishop of St. Andrew's, by Mary Boyd, daughter to Archibald Boyd, of Bonsham; Catharine, married to James earl of Morton, by the same lady; James earl of Murray, by Jean Kennedy, daughter to the earl of Cassils; Margaret, married to John Master, of Huntley, by Margaret Drummond, daughter to John lord Drummond; and Jean, married to Malcolm lord Fleming, by Isabel Stuart, daughter to James earl of Buchan.

J A M E S V.

A.D. 1513. AFTER the battle of Floddon, so fatal to the Scots, the earl of Surry marched to Berwick, where he waited for farther orders from Henry, who was then besieging Tournay. To the honour of Henry, he behaved on this occasion with equal magnanimity and affection. Overlooking all the provocation he had received from James, the earl of Surry had orders to dismiss his army, which he did; but not without receiving the noblest rewards his master could bestow, beside creating him duke of Norfolk. The dismissal of the English army was, at this time, a providential deliverance to Scotland, which was bleeding with the terrible wounds she had received in the late engagement. Some days being spent in acts of mourning, in

in which every family in the kingdom, of any consideration, bore a part, the states assembled at Stirling, where the late king's eldest son, then not a year and a half old, was crowned, by the title of James V.

The late king, before he set out on the expedition in which he fell, had made a will, appointing, in case of his death, his dowager to be regent of the kingdom, and guardian of the young prince during his minority. *The queen appointed regent.* Though this appointment, which placed the whole regal power, in a manner, in her hands, was far from being agreeable to the spirit of the Scottish constitution, yet the regard which the assembly had for the late king, upon whose will alone the queen founded her claim, did not suffer them to dispute it; and she was accordingly recognized as regent of the kingdom, and guardian to her son, as long (for so the will expressed it) as she should continue a widow. But being settled in her new dignity, and being also big with a posthumous child, she found it too difficult a task to support alone the weight of government, and therefore agreed to receive assistance in the execution of that arduous employment. The persons whom she chose as coadjutors were, Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, and chancellor of Scotland, the earls of Huntley, Angus, and Arran.

In April following, the queen was delivered of a posthumous son, who was baptized Alexander; and, in less than four months after, she married the earl of Angus, without consulting her brother, or the states of Scotland, on the subject. *A.D. 1514.* By accepting of a husband, she, in fact, resigned all claim to the regency under the late king's will. *The queen delivered of a son.* The Douglasses did not dispute her having divested herself of that authority; but they affirmed, that the states might lawfully reinstate her in it, and that the peace of the kingdom required that appointment, as the only measure which could preserve the tranquility then subsisting between Scotland and England. *She marries the earl of Angus.* This proposal was strongly opposed by the earl of Hume, who dreaded that the farther aggrandizement of Angus must weaken his interest on the borders. He was joined by a number of the young nobility, who, though otherwise divided, united against Angus.

An assembly of the nobility being held upon the occasion, their deliberations turned upon the person most proper to be substituted for regent; and the meeting was divided between the duke of Albany and the earl of Arran, who were both in the same relation to the crown, the former

former by the male, and the latter by the female side. The preference, in right of blood, lay for the duke of Albany; but he was exceptionable to many of the assembly, not only on account of his father's treasons, but because he was himself a Frenchman born, devoted to that crown, and entirely ignorant of the laws, constitution, and manners, of the Scots. The earl of Arran, on the other hand, was liable to many of the objections which had operated against the earl of Angus. He was already very powerful by his estate, family, and adherents; and it was visible, from the beginning of the debate, that the earl of Hume was resolved that no subject of Scotland should be preferred to the regency. At last, after great opposition, the duke of Albany was chosen; and he soon after came over from France. This choice was undoubtedly a wise measure for the Scots: for, though he was a stranger, and unacquainted with their manners, he was, at the same time, disinterested and indifferent with regard to their parties and divisions; and, being a man of capacity, it was easy for him to get such information as might fit him to be an excellent governor; nor did he deceive the expectation of the public.

A D. 1555.

*Albany
chosen re-
gent.*

The first indication of his abilities for government was, his endeavouring to conciliate all differences between the principal families of the country: for, since the death of the late king, their old animosities had again revived, and the whole kingdom became a scene of rapine and bloodshed. We are told, that the head of the family of Struan Robertson went about exercising robbery, with eight hundred men in his train; but he was at last overpowered, and put to death. One Peter Muffat was another robber of that time; and so daring, that he appeared openly at court after the regent's arrival in Scotland; but the regent, without regarding any other consideration than that of his crimes, ordered him to be apprehended, tried, and executed. These, and many other instances of his firmness, soon changed the face of affairs in Scotland. Before the parliament rose, many excellent laws were enacted for correcting public disorders; and the nation seemed unanimous in the praises of their new governor.

Among all the persons to whom the regent applied for information concerning the state of Scotland, he found none who gave him so much satisfaction as Hepburn, prior of St. Andrew's. It is generally agreed by historians, that

• Buchan. Drummond.

Hepburn

Hepburn had gained an ascendancy over the regent, by the force of money laid out among his French and other domestics, by a fawning, plausible address, and other unjustifiable measures; but they acknowledge, at the same time, that the duke took no more of his advice than he thought proper. The earl of Hume, as lord-chamberlain, having often occasion to repair to court, soon perceived an alteration in the regent's behaviour towards him and his friends; and, understanding that Hepburn was the favourite, he could be at no loss to know whence this sudden change proceeded. He bewailed, both in public and private, his having been instrumental in the regent's advancement; he ripped up the demerits of his father, expatiated on the danger of Scotland being rendered a province of France, and, at last, offered to connect himself with the queen-dowager and her husband. The alliance was readily accepted; and the earl of Angus concurred with Hume in alarming the mother for the safety of her two sons, as the regent was the next heir to the crown; and it was, at length, resolved, that the queen should take the first opportunity to fly with the royal infants into England. The regent, during those consultations, was making a progress through Scotland, that he might learn, by his own eyes, the state of the kingdom, which he found even more deplorable than had been represented. Upon the borders, a civil judge was not to be heard of; and the inhabitants knew no authority but what was vested in the earls of Angus or Hume. When he came to the western parts, he found them full of bloody feuds, occasioned by the families of Montgomery, Kilmaurs, and Sempil. In the North, the earl of Murray (natural son to the late king), and the earl of Errol, opposed the earl of Huntley, lord-lieutenant; but before the regent could apply any remedy to those disorders, he received private intelligence of what had been concerted by the queen and her faction, which obliged him to return to Edinburgh. He was remarkable for his dispatch, and the quick execution of what he had resolved on; and, as no time was to be lost, he set out at midnight, attended by about a thousand soldiers, for Stirling-castle, which he easily surpris'd, and found in it the queen and her two sons^f.

*Intrigues
against the
regent.*

This was a bold stroke in the regent, but he manifested by his conduct that the safety of the royal infants was his

*who dis-
appoints
them.*

^f Drummond.

chief

chief aim. Being sensible of the calumnies which his enemies had propagated, on account of his propinquity to the crown, he committed the care of the king and his brother to three of the most approved noblemen in the kingdom, one of whom was the earl of Lenox, and the lord Erskine, governor of the castle. These guardians had it in charge to attend the royal children by turns. The regent entirely divested himself of the custody of their persons; and a guard, consisting partly of Scots and partly of French, was appointed for their safety. As to the queen, no restraint was laid upon her person, and she was left at liberty to reside where she pleased. This quick proceeding of the regent seems to have entirely disconcerted his enemies. The earl of Hume retired to his own estate, whence he was driven by the earls of Arran and Lenox into England, where, at the head of a tumultuous band, he harraided the Scottish borders. The queen and her husband, with his brother, sir George Douglas, retired first to their castle of Tantallon, and thence to Berwick, where they received a convoy to Coldstream-nunnery. Messengers were then dispatched to know Henry's pleasure how his sister should be disposed of; and he ordered the lord Dacres, his warden of the marches, respectfully to attend her to Harbottle castle in Northumberland, which he assigned her for the place of her residence. Here she was delivered of her daughter, the lady Mary Douglas, mother (by her husband, the earl of Angus) to Henry lord Darnley, father to James the first of England.

Lord Hume refusing to surrender himself, or to accept of the regent's terms, was denounced a traitor, and his estate confiscated. He again filled the borders with devastations; and the regent suddenly advancing at the head of about a thousand disciplined troops, the earl thought proper to lay down his arms, and to put himself into the regent's hands, but upon what terms we know not; so that his submission has a mysterious aspect. He was, however, sent prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, where he was committed to the custody of his brother-in-law, the earl of Arran, with a charge, under the pain of felony, not to suffer him to escape. The earl of Hume soon found means to inspire Arran with ambitious thoughts. He represented Scotland as being held in chains by a Frenchman, and the son of a traitor; that the regent had no other firm support but his French dependents; that he had forfeited his regency; and that, if he was at liberty,
nothing

nothing could be more easy than to transfer it to the earl of Arran. His arguments were the more plausible, as the earl of Angus was, in a manner, now out of the question; for he is said, at this time, to have taken refuge in France. The earl of Arran being effectually worked upon by Hume's reasoning, resolved to partake with him in his flight; and accordingly, about the end of October, they both repaired to the borders, where they lost no time in renewing hostilities.

Notwithstanding those rebellious proceedings, the parliament, which was then sitting with the bulk of the nation, were firmly attached to the regent, whose conduct was in all respects irreproachable; and if he was guilty of any mistakes, it was on the side of clemency, and because he was a stranger. The earl of Hume and his brother were again proclaimed traitors; but the earl was allowed fifteen days to surrender himself. The regent made use of that interval in making head against this new rebellion; and the parliament had voted him fifteen thousand men for that purpose. He then marched at the head of a sufficient force, and a train of artillery, against the castle of Hamilton, the earl of Arran's chief seat, which he besieged. The place was in no condition to make a defence; but an irresistible advocate now appeared in the earl's favour. This was no other than that venerable princess, daughter to James the Second, mother to the earl of Arran, and aunt to the regent, who craved a parley of him, and obtained not only a cessation of all hostilities, but a pardon for her son, provided he would return to his duty. The earl, who seems to have been an irresolute nobleman, no sooner received intelligence of this, than he privately abandoned Hume, and prevailed with Beaton archbishop of Glasgow, and chancellor of Scotland, to introduce him to the regent, who received him again into favour^d.

During the regent's absence upon this short expedition, the parliament continued still to sit; but the public tranquillity was broken by the confederacy which had been formed against the earl of Huntley, at the head of which was the earl of Murray, the king's natural brother. Huntley was too well attended to fear any danger by day; but his enemies finding means to introduce some armed troops by stealth, in the night-time, into Edinburgh, there ensued a fierce skirmish, in which several on both sides were

^d Drummond. Buch.

killed.

killed. The event would have been more fatal, had not the regent interposed, and put all the lords into prison, until he effected a reconciliation among them.

A.D. 1516.

*Death of
the duke of
Rothesay.*

In January, 1516, died the young duke of Rothesay; and his death brought the regent one degree nearer to the crown. It was therefore thought proper to re-assemble the parliament, which had risen some time before, and to settle the succession. The regent was accordingly declared next heir to the throne, upon the demise of young James; and the states unanimously recognized him as such. This recognition was of the utmost consequence to the regent, because he had, at this time, an elder brother alive by his father's first wife, daughter to the earl of Orkney and Caithness. Before the parliament rose, it was thought proper to renew the peace with England; and commissioners for that purpose being appointed by both nations, a treaty was accordingly concluded.

A.D. 1517.

The regent, imagining that he had now extinguished faction in Scotland, retired, for a part of the summer, to his castle of Falkland. Historians are unanimous that he was followed in this retreat by his wicked counsellor, Hepburn, who pretended that the earl of Hume was continuing his dangerous practices against the state, and that his safety was incompatible with that of the king and kingdom. The state of affairs between England and France, where the regent's wife lived, besides private concerns, demanded his presence in that country; and he thought it imprudent to leave behind him so turbulent a nobleman as the earl of Hume. Under pretence of finishing all the differences which remained unsettled with England, he called a convention of the nobility to meet at Edinburgh in September, and sent special letters to the earl of Hume and his brother, who had for some time laid down their arms, to attend, on account of the great knowledge and experience they had in the affairs of England. Some suspicious circumstances awakened the jealousy of Hume's friends, and they advised him and his brother to be upon their guard. They, however, repaired to Edinburgh, and the earl appeared in the convention, which was held in the abbey of Holyrood-house; but his brother refused, at first, to attend. The earl was received in the council with great demonstrations of friendship from the regent, who acquainted the assembly, that as it was thought proper to conclude a firm peace with England, and that an embassy should be sent for that purpose to Henry, he knew no man more fit to be put
at

*The earl of
Hume and
his brother
betrayed
and be-
headed.*

at the head of it than the earl's brother, William. The regent dissembled so well, that the earl thought him sincere; and putting from his finger a ring, the signal which had been concerted between them, he sent it to his brother, as a token that he might with safety repair to the abbey. William obeyed the summons; but no sooner did he enter the abbey-gates, than they were shut upon him, and he found himself a prisoner amidst the regent's French guards, who carried him on board a ship at Leith, and confined him in the castle of Inchgarvy. The earl of Hume was arrested at the same time, and sent prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh.

Those proceedings hitherto might have been defensible, had any new matter of treason been proved against them upon their trial. The earl of Murray appeared as a chief prosecutor, and attempted to prove that his father, the late king, had been seen on the Scottish side of the Tweed after the battle of Flodden-field, and that he had been murdered by the earl of Hume; but he failed in every part of the evidence to support the charge. The earl was next accused of not doing his duty in the battle of Flodden; but that part of the prosecution seems likewise to have fallen to the ground; and it was thought proper to bring against him an accumulated charge of treason. He and his brother were accused of putting themselves at the head of robbers and outlaws, and of having suffered the English to fortify the castle of Norham, when it was the earl's duty, and in his power, as lord-warden of the marches, to have prevented them. It appears from Drummond, that the regent, in the directions he gave the jury, informed them that the earl and his brother had been guilty of a crime so heinous and odious, that it was not fit to be made public. We are ignorant as to the defence made by the earl and his brother to this vague, unsupported accusation. Both of them were condemned to lose their heads; which sentence was put in execution upon the earl next day, the 11th of October, and upon his brother William the day following¹.

The illegal execution of the Humes excited against the regent great odium, which was increased by exposing the heads of these unfortunate brothers upon the most conspicuous parts of Edinburgh. It was easy to see that the affection of the nobility towards him was cool, and he found himself under great difficulties how to fill up the important

¹ Drummond. Buch.

posts which were vacant by the earl of Hume's death. The place of lord-warden of the marches could admit of no delay in supplying it; and the regent thought it most conducive for his interest to give it to his French favourite, La Beaute, whom the Scottish historians call sir Anthony D'Arcy. He was every way qualified for the trust, which was then reckoned the highest of any in the kingdom; and the regent apologized for bestowing it upon a foreigner, who, he said, having no family-connexions in the country, would exercise it with the greater impartiality. As to the post of lord-chamberlain, the regent gave it to lord Fleming.

D'Arcy was vain and ambitious enough to enter upon a charge which in prudence he ought to have declined. Soon after his appointment, the regent raised an army, on pretence of some commotions upon the borders, which he soon quelled; but on his return, he seized the person of the earl of Lenox, and forced him to deliver up the castle of Dumbarton; not choosing to leave it, during his intended absence in France, in the custody of a nobleman of suspected fidelity. Having settled every thing respecting the government, he set sail for France about the middle of July.

A.D. 1517.

The regent goes to France.

The queen-mother denied admittance to her son.

Upon the departure of the regent, the queen left the English court, and arrived, with a noble retinue, at Berwick, where she was received by her husband. Either his infidelity to her bed, or resentment at his having left her to make peace with the regent, had now given her an invincible disgust to his person, which she endeavoured, however, to conceal; and they arrived together at Edinburgh, where, in consequence of the agreement made with the regent, she demanded access to her son, but met with a denial. D'Arcy, who now acted, in fact, as regent, was afraid of trusting the young king to his mother's custody, lest she should carry him into England; but the lord Erskine, without paying much regard to D'Arcy, removed his royal charge to the castle of Craigmillar (where D'Arcy had no power) on pretence that the plague was in Edinburgh, and there the queen was admitted to visit her son. This was so disagreeable to D'Arcy, and some of the other governors, that the lord Erskine was obliged to carry the king back to the castle of Edinburgh, and all farther access to him was prohibited to his mother.

La Beaute murdered.

D'Arcy, though haughty and violent, proved an excellent justiciary, and generally resided in the castle of Dunbar,

bar, that he might be at hand to quell any insurrection of the borderers. The other governors, either from regard to his merits, or as a bait for his destruction, threw the whole executive part of their duties upon D'Arcy, by making him sole deputy; but promised to be ready to assist him with all their power, if there should be any occasion: Probably this compliment rendered him too presumptuous; and a plot was laid for his ruin, by a seeming quarrel between William Cockburn, assisted by sir David Hume of Wedderburn, and the guardians of Cockburn of Langton, Cockburn's nephew, on account of a castle from which the young man and his guardians had been forcibly ejected: Complaint of this outrage being brought to the deputy, he set out, attended by some gentlemen of the South, who were secretly friends to the Hume family, and a small party of his French soldiers. In his way to Duns, where he proposed to hold a court of justice for enquiring into the riot, he fell into an ambuscade, formed by the Humes of Wedderburn, who cut off all his attendants; and he himself, endeavouring to escape back to Dunbar by the swiftness of his horse, was plunged into a marsh, where he was beset by his enemies, who struck off his head.

Though the death of D'Arcy, perhaps, gave no concern to the other governors, yet they found it necessary to proceed with the utmost severity against his murderers, whom they forfeited, and to fill up his post, which was bestowed upon the earl of Arran.

Upon the regent's return to Scotland, he found the kingdom in great disorder. The earl of Angus and his followers domineered in the field; but the Hamilton faction, supported by the chancellor, Beaton, the other prelates, and a majority of the nobles, out-voted them in parliament. The regent now acted only as a viceroy of the French king; while the nobles asserted their own privileges, with a boldness which convinced him of the impotence of his own authority. After several unsuccessful struggles, he voluntarily retired to France; and the king being then in his thirteenth year, the nobles agreed that he should assume the government, and that eight persons should be appointed to attend him by turns, and to advise and assist him in the administration of public affairs. The earl of Angus, who was one of that number, did not long remain satisfied with such divided power. He gained

A.D. 1521.

He returns to Scotland, but retires to France.

A.D. 1521.

some of his colleagues, removed others, and intimidated the rest. When the term of his attendance expired, he still retained authority, to which all were obliged to submit, because none of them was in a condition to dispute it. The affection of the young king was the only thing wanting, to fix and perpetuate his power. But a high-spirited prince submitted, with great impatience, to the restraint, in which he was kept, and he could not on some occasions conceal his indignation. James was continually surrounded by the earl's spies and confidants, but his eagerness to obtain liberty eluded all their vigilance. He escaped from Falkland, and fled to the castle of Stirling, the residence of the queen his mother, and the only place of strength in the kingdom which was not in the hands of the Douglasses. The nobles, of whom some were influenced by their hatred to Angus, and others by their respect for the king, crowded to Stirling, and his court was soon filled with persons of the greatest distinction. The earl, though surprised at this unexpected revolution, resolved, at first, to make one bold push for recovering his authority, by marching to Stirling at the head of his followers; but he wanted either courage or strength to execute this resolution. In a parliament held soon after, he and his adherents were attainted, and after escaping many dangers, and enduring much misery, he was at length obliged to fly into England for refuge.

The earl of Angus attainted.

The king assumes the reins of government.

James, being now delivered from the restraint of the Douglasses, shewed excellent dispositions for government. Finding that the borderers were displeased at the treaty of peace with England, and that they were renewing their depredations, he resolved to strike at the root of an evil so pernicious to the public tranquillity. Sensible that the only means of suppressing those outrages was by rigorously executing the laws against such delinquents, he soon gave an example of public justice, in the punishment of two notorious offenders. Both of them were men of consideration in Liddesdale; but long habituated to the practice of robbing. Though their manner of life was sufficiently well known, they made no scruple of appearing publicly in Edinburgh, as if they had been guilty of no crime. But James, with a vigour becoming a wise sovereign, ordered them to be apprehended, tried, and hanged. He next proceeded with great firmness against many noblemen, and principal gentlemen, who were suspected of disaffection to the late peace. Several of them he sent to prison, where they lay, until they entered into recognizances

recognizances themselves, and were obliged to find bail for their good behaviour².

James, being dissatisfied with the ordinary administration of justice, had recourse to the parliament of Paris for a model of the like institution in Scotland. Great objections lay to juries in civil matters, and to ambulatory courts of justice. The authority of the heritable jurisdictions set almost at defiance the general laws of the kingdom; for though the king might preside in them, he seldom did; and appeals before the council were both troublesome and expensive. The true source of the public grievances, in matters of property, lay in the disregard shown to the excellent acts which had passed during the reigns of the three first Jameses. To remedy this evil, therefore, the king instituted the court of session in Scotland, which is, properly, a standing jury in all matters of law and equity.

A.D. 1532.

*Institution
of the court
of session.*

Henry, who knew that both the pope and emperor courted the friendship of the king of Scots, and endeavoured to engage him in an alliance against England, resolved to frustrate their negotiations, by entering into a closer union with his nephew, and for that purpose sent ambassadors into Scotland to propose a personal interview with him at York. It was doubtless, James's interest to accept of this invitation, and at first he consented to Henry's proposal; but the clergy, who had great influence in James's councils, dreading the effect of such a measure on the interests of the established religion, induced him to relinquish all thoughts of his intended journey. Meantime, Henry had come to York in expectation of meeting him; and that haughty and impatient monarch resented the affront by declaring war against Scotland. His army was soon ready to invade the kingdom. In this emergency, James was obliged to have recourse to his nobles for the defence of his dominions. At his command, they assembled their followers; but with dispositions little favourable, and, secretly, even hostile to his government; though, by the abilities and interest of his ministers, any seditious designs were, for this time, prevented from being carried into effect. Scarcity of provisions, and the rigour of the season, having obliged the English army, which had invaded Scotland, to retire, James proposed to pursue them; but the principal barons refused to advance a step beyond the limits of their own country. The king,

*A rupture
with Eng-
land.*

² Lesley, Drummond.

provoked at this insult, and suspicious of some intestine commotion, immediately disbanded his army, and hastened to the capital.

A.D. 1542.

This mortifying incident sunk deep into the mind of James, who now saw how vain and ineffectual all his projects to humble the nobles had been; and, in order to revive his spirits, an inroad on the western borders was concerted by his ministers, who prevailed upon the barons in the neighbouring provinces, to raise as many troops as were thought necessary, and to enter the enemy's country. But nothing could remove the king's aversion to the nobility, or diminish his jealousy of their power. He would not even trust them with the command of the forces which they had assembled; but bestowed it on Oliver Sinclair, a son of the house of Roslin, a favourite minion at court. This appointment was no sooner known, than rage and indignation excited a universal mutiny in the army. Five hundred English, who happened to be drawn up in fight, attacked the Scots in this disorder^p. Hatred to the king, and contempt of their general, produced such an effect upon the Scots, that they immediately surrendered, without striking a single blow. The king was then at Carlaverock, about twelve miles distant from the place of action, deprest in his spirits, and anxious about the event of the expedition, which has ever since been denominated the Raid of Solway-moss. When the news came to his ears, he burst into a transport of rage, which was quickly succeeded by the deepest melancholy and despair; and he either could not, or refused to take any sustenance. On the 8th of December, while James lay in this deplorable state, a messenger came from Linlithgow, with an account that his queen was brought to bed; and the last words he was distinctly heard to say, were, "It will end as it began: the crown came by a woman, and it will go with one; many miseries approach this poor kingdom; king Henry will either master it by arms, or win it by marriage." He then turned his face to the wall, and in broken ejaculations pronounced the word Solway-moss, and some faint expressions, alluding to the disgrace he had suffered. After languishing some days, he expired, in the thirty-first year of his age^q.

*Raid of
Solway-
Moss.*

*Death of
the king.*

Such was the fate of James V. a prince formed by nature to be the ornament of a throne, and a blessing to his people; but his excellent endowments were rendered ineffec-

^p Buchan.

^q Ibid. Drummond.

tual, and were even perverted, by improper education. The banishing Hepburn earl of Bothwell for reasons extremely frivolous, the beheading the master of Forbes, without sufficient evidence of his guilt, and the condemning lady Glamis, a sister of the earl of Angus, to be burnt for the crime of witchcraft, of which even that credulous age believed her innocent, are monuments of the king's hatred of the nobility, of the severity of his government, and of the stretches he made to absolute power. Like most of his predecessors, he was born with a vigorous, graceful person, which, in the early part of his reign, was improved by all the manly exercises then in use. This prince was the author of a humorous composition in poetry, which goes by the name of the Gaberlunzie Man.

James left only one legitimate child, Mary, by his queen, the dutchess dowager of Longueville, to whom he was married about four years before his death.

CHAP. V.

From the Death of James V. to the Accession of James VI. to the crown of England.

MARY.

THE court of the late king, during the latter part of his life, was so reclusive, that historians are not certain as to the day on which this unfortunate princess was born; but it is supposed to have been the 7th day of December. The situation of the kingdom at this time alarmed all ranks of men with the prospect of a turbulent and disastrous reign. A war with England had been capriciously undertaken, and carried on without success. Many persons of the first rank had fallen into the hands of the English, in the unfortunate rout near the firth of Solway, and were still prisoners at London. Among the rest of the nobles there was little union; and the religious disputes, occasioned by the opinions of the reformers, growing daily more violent, added to the violence of the political factions. The government of a queen was unknown in Scotland; and that of an infant queen, in particular, could imprint but little reverence in the minds of a martial people. Nor had the late king provided against the disorders of a long minority, by committing to proper

A.D. 1542.

Birth of queen Mary, and state of the kingdom.

persons the care of his daughter's education, and the administration of affairs ^P.

*Ambition
of Beaton.*

Cardinal Beaton, who had for many years been considered as prime-minister, was the first that claimed that high dignity; and in support of his pretensions, he produced a testament, which himself had forged in the name of the late king, and without any other right, immediately assumed the title of regent. He hoped, by the assistance of the clergy, the connivance of the queen-dowager, and the support of the whole popish faction, to be able to maintain his authority. But he was not likely to enjoy his usurpation long in peace. Those among the nobles who wished for a reformation in religion dreaded his severity, and others considered the elevation of a churchman to the highest office in the kingdom as a depression of themselves. At their instigation, James Hamilton, earl of Arran, and next heir to the queen, roused himself from his inactivity, and was prevailed on to aspire to that station, to which proximity of blood gave him a natural title. The nobles, who were assembled for that purpose, unanimously conferred on him the office of regent; and the nomination was approved by the public.

*Earl of
Arran
chosen re-
gent.*

The doctrines of the reformation had shaken many of the nobility in the profession and belief of the old religion, without fixing them in the new; but they wished well to the reformation, that they might share in the plunder of the church. The people, in general, were so much disgusted with the old religion, and so fired with indignation at the vices, ignorance, and superstition of the clergy, that without regard to decency, reason, or justice, they were determined to exterminate popery in every shape. A few of the wisest and best patriots, without attaching themselves to the old religion, were for retaining it, until a reformation could be deliberately effected. Some of the great nobility, on the other hand, were for retaining popery with all its absurdities; for no other reason, but because it was the religion of their ancestors. Beaton put himself at the head of the latter, because they were not only the most consistent with themselves, but the most favourable to his views and ambition. The profligate life, and the all-grasping disposition of this ecclesiastic, had rendered him obnoxious to the laity of every denomination. His chief dependence, therefore, was upon the party of the queen-dowager, and support from France, with the indulgence, weakness, and inactivity of the earl of Arran.

*Schemes of
Henry VIII.
with re-
gard to
Scotland.*

This nobleman had scarce taken possession of his new dignity, when a negociation was opened with England, which produced events of the most fatal consequence both to himself and the kingdom. Henry VIII. conceived a design of effecting a marriage between his only son Edward, and the young queen of Scots. This proposal he communicated to those who had been made prisoners at Solway, whom he prevailed upon to favour it, by the promise of liberty, as the reward of their success. Meanwhile, he permitted them to return into Scotland, that, by their presence in the parliament which the regent had called, they might be the better able to influence their countrymen in favour of the purposed alliance. The designs which Henry had formed upon Scotland were obvious from the marriage he had projected; and being of a temper rough and impatient, he had not the address to conceal them; but immediately demanded that the queen's person should be committed to his custody, and that the government of the kingdom should be put into his hands during her minority. Conditions so ignominious were rejected by the Scots with indignation. They consented, however, to a treaty of marriage and of union, upon somewhat more equal terms; and Henry, finding himself unable to accomplish his purpose either by fraud or influence, was obliged to accept of the proposals which were offered by the Scots. It was, therefore, agreed on his side, that the queen should continue to reside in Scotland, and himself remain excluded from any share in the government of the kingdom. On the other hand, the Scots agreed to send their sovereign into England as soon as she attained the age of ten years, and instantly to deliver six persons of the first rank, to be kept as hostages by Henry until the queen's arrival at his court.

This treaty being of such evident advantage to England, the regent, by consenting to it, lost much of the public confidence; and this event failed not to be improved by the cardinal, who had been imprisoned by the regent, but had now recovered his liberty. He complained loudly, that the regent had betrayed the kingdom to its most inveterate enemies, and sacrificed its honour to his own ambition. He lamented to see an ancient kingdom, renowned for its attachment to liberty, descending into the ignominious station of a dependent province, and surrendering every thing for which the Scottish nation had struggled and fought during so many ages. These remonstrances, being addressed to the passions of his hearers,

were not without effect; and the nobles, who had lately shewn the greatest disrespect to the cardinal, were now ready to applaud and second him, as the defender of the honour and liberty of his country. Several powerful barons declared openly against the alliance with England. By their assistance, the cardinal seized on the persons of the young queen and her mother, and added to his party the splendour and authority of the royal name.

Meanwhile, the day appointed for the ratification of the treaty with England approached, and the regent, whose weak mind had been worked upon by the cardinal's emissaries, betrayed in his conduct the most glaring irresolution and inconsistency. On the 25th of August, he ratified the treaty with Henry, and proclaimed the cardinal, who continued to oppose it, an enemy to his country. In little more than a week after, he secretly withdrew from Edinburgh, met with the cardinal, renounced the friendship of England, and declared for the interests of France.

Beaton ingrosses the chief direction of affairs.

The earl of Arran having by his inconstancy forfeited the public esteem, the cardinal exercised all the authority of a regent, without the envy of the name; but he met with a powerful opponent in the earl of Lenox, who, finding himself deceived by the cardinal's artifices, joined himself to the opposite party^b.

Henry invades Scotland.

Scotland, amidst these civil dissensions, was threatened with an invasion from England. Henry had been provoked at the indignity with which he had been treated, both by the regent and parliament of Scotland, and his resentment was increased, when, after rejecting his alliance, they entered into a stricter confederacy with France. The rigour of the season retarded for some time the execution of his vengeance; but in the spring, a considerable body of infantry received orders to sail for Scotland, and a proper number of cavalry was appointed to join it by land. The regent and cardinal, imagining that the French war would find employment for all Henry's forces, were wholly unprovided for the defence of the kingdom.

S. D. : 544.

The earl of Hertford, who commanded this army, landed without opposition, a few miles from Leith. He was quickly master of that place; and marching to Edinburgh, entered it with the same ease. After plundering the adjacent country, he set fire to both these towns, and upon the approach of some troops collected by the regent, put

^b Buch. Drummond,

his booty on board the fleet, and with his land-forces retired safely to the English borders. This ill-concerted, fruitless and impolitic expedition, proved of great prejudice to the views which Henry had entertained. Such a rough courtship, as the earl of Huntley humourously called it, disgusted the whole nation; and their former aversion to the proposed marriage, now grew into universal abhorrence.

The earl of Lenox alone, out of resentment to the regent and French king, continued a correspondence with England, which ruined his own interest, without promoting that of Henry. Many of his own vassals, preferring their duty to their country before their attachment to him, refused to concur in any design to favour the public enemy. After a few feeble and unsuccessful attempts to disturb the regent's administration, he was obliged to fly for safety to the court of England, where Henry gave him in marriage his niece, the lady Margaret Douglas. This unhappy exile, however, was destined to be the father of a race of kings; and he saw his son lord Darnley mount the throne of Scotland, to the perpetual exclusion of that rival who now triumphed in his ruin.

Meanwhile, hostilities were continued by both nations, but with little vigour on either side; until, at last, an end was put to this languid and inactive war, by a peace, in which England, France, and Scotland, were comprehended. This transaction was soon followed by an event yet more interesting to the nation. Cardinal Beaton, who had long been an object of public hatred, for his insolence and profligacy, became every day more obnoxious, from his severity against the reformers; and above all, for the illegal and barbarous execution of the famous George Wishart, a man of honourable birth, and primitive sanctity. Nothing was now wanting but a bold hand to gratify the people by his destruction; and this was soon supplied, from a motive of private revenge. Lesley, the eldest son of the earl of Rothes, had been treated by the cardinal with injustice and contempt, and he determined on revenge. The cardinal, at that time, resided in the castle of St. Andrew's, which he had fortified at great expence. His retinue was numerous, the town at his devotion, and the neighbouring country full of his dependents. In this situation, sixteen persons undertook to surprise his castle, and to assassinate himself. With this view, early in the morning, they seized on the gate of the castle, which had been set open to the workmen who were employed in finishing the fortifications. Having placed
centinels

centinels at the door of the cardinal's apartment, they awaked his numerous domestics one by one, and turning them out of the castle, they, without noise or tumult, or violence to any other person, delivered their country, though by a most unjustifiable action, from an ambitious, insolent, cruel, and odious minister, whose death proved fatal to the catholic religion, and to the French interest in Scotland^c.

A.D. 1546.
*Murder of
Beaton.*

The regent was, secretly, not displeased at an event, which freed him from a rival, who had not only eclipsed his greatness, but almost extinguished his power. Many reasons, however, concurred to induce him to revenge the cardinal's death. One of these was the desire of recovering his eldest son, whom the cardinal had detained for some time at St. Andrew's; in pledge of his fidelity; and who, with the castle, had fallen into the hands of the conspirators, who thought proper to secure him for their own safety. After the murder became public, the conspirators admitted others of their party into the castle; so that their garrison, at last, consisted of about a hundred and forty persons. The art of attacking fortified places being at that time little known in Scotland, this small force resisted the utmost efforts of the regent during five months; and the siege was concluded by a truce. The regent undertook to procure for the conspirators an absolution from the pope, and a pardon in parliament; upon obtaining which, they engaged to surrender the castle, and to set his son at liberty. But it is probable that neither of them was sincere in this treaty, and that they only sought to amuse, and to gain time. The regent had applied to France for assistance, and expected soon to be able to reduce the conspirators to his mercy. On the other hand, Lesley and his associates were assisted from England with supplies both of money and provisions; and as Henry was preparing to renew his proposals concerning the marriage and the union he had projected, and to second his negotiations with a numerous army, they hoped, by concurring with him, not only to secure their own safety, but to render themselves objects of his particular favour. But the death of Henry, in the beginning of next year, blasted all their hopes.

A.D. 1547.

*Troops arrive from
France.*

Francis I. did not long survive the English monarch; but his successor Henry II. was not neglectful of the French interest in Scotland. He sent a considerable body

^c Buchanan.

of

of men to the regent's assistance. These troops, from their long experience in the Italian and German wars, had become dextrous in the conduct of sieges; and the conspirators, finding that they could not defend themselves against this new force, surrendered to Strozzi, the French general, who engaged, in the name of the king his master, for the security of their lives; and, as his prisoners, transported them into France. The castle itself was demolished, in obedience to the canon law, which denounces its anathemas even against the houses in which the sacred blood of a cardinal happens to be shed, and ordains them to be laid in ruins^d.

The ministers of Henry VIII. who had the chief direction of affairs during the minority of his son Edward VI. conducted themselves, with regard to Scotland, by the maxims of their late master, and resolved to intimidate the Scots into a treaty which they could not accomplish by any other means. In the beginning of September, the earl of Hertford, now duke of Somerset, and protector of England, entered Scotland at the head of eighteen thousand men, and, at the same time, a fleet of sixty ships appeared on the coast, to second his land-forces. The Scots had for some time expected this enterprize, and were prepared to oppose it. Their army was almost double to that of the enemy, and posted to the greatest advantage on a rising ground, above Musselburgh, not far from the river Eske. The duke of Somerset now saw his danger, and would willingly have extricated himself out of it, by a new overture of peace on conditions extremely moderate. But his proposal was rejected with that scorn which the consciousness of superiority inspires; and if the conduct of the regent, who commanded the Scottish army, had been in any degree equal to his confidence of success, the destruction of the English must have been inevitable. The Scots had chosen their ground so well, that the enemy could not force them to give battle. The English had in a few days exhausted the forage and provision of a narrow country; and the fleet could only supply them with a scanty and precarious subsistence. In this desperate situation, the heat and impetuosity of the Scots saved the English, and precipitated their own country into the utmost danger. The Scots becoming impatient for action at the sight of the enemy, the general, who was afraid of nothing but that the English would escape from

*New
breach
with Eng-
land.*

*Invasion
of Scotland
by the
English.*

^d Buchanan.

*Battle of
Pinkey.*

him by flight, imprudently left his strong camp, and attacked the duke of Somerset, near Pinkey, almost on the very spot where the rebels, in the year 1755, defeated the royal army under sir John Cope. The protector had drawn up his troops on a gentle eminence, and had now the advantage of ground on his side. The Scots advancing with great precipitation, received on their flank a hot fire from the English fleet, which lay in the bay of Musselburgh, and had drawn near the shore. The Irish archers were immediately thrown into disorder; and even the other troops began to stagger: when lord Grey, perceiving their situation, left his ground, contrary to the orders he had received, and, at the head of his heavy-armed horse, made an attack on the Scottish infantry, in hopes of gaining all the honour of the victory. The ground over which he had to march, being crossed by a ditch, and broken with ridges, the movements of the English cavalry were disordered; and as they were received on the points of the Scottish spears, which were longer than the lances of the English horsemen, they were instantly defeated. Had the Scots now possessed any good body of cavalry, who could have pursued the advantage, the whole English army had been exposed to great danger. The English infantry, however, advanced, and the Scots were at once exposed to a flight of arrows, to a fire in flank from four hundred foreign fusileers who served the enemy, and to their cannon, which were planted behind the infantry, on the highest part of the eminence. The depth and closeness of their ranks making it impossible for the Scots to stand long in this situation, the earl of Angus, who commanded the van-guard, endeavoured to change his ground, and to retire towards the main body. But his countrymen, unfortunately mistook this motion for a flight, and fell into confusion. At that very instant, the broken cavalry, having rallied, returned to the charge; the infantry pursued the advantage they had gained; and, in a moment, the rout of the Scottish army became universal. The engagement was neither long nor bloody; but in the pursuit, the English discovered all the rage and fierceness which national animosity could inspire. The pursuit was continued for five hours, and to a great distance. Above ten thousand men are supposed to have fallen on this day. A few were made prisoners, and among those some persons of distinction.

But the Scots, though defeated in this battle, were far from being subdued. The regent and the queen-mother retained all their high spirit of resentment against the English, without admitting the least alteration of their measures. They fled, indeed, to Stirling with the remains of their army which they could pick up; but the protector, instead of pursuing them, was impatient to return to England, and after committing many acts of depredation, began his march thither.

The regent soon after called an assembly of the nobility, to deliberate upon the measures to be taken, for securing the person of the queen from the power of the English. Their proceedings had the appearance of magnanimity; but were imprudent, and inconsistent with that character of patriotism which they affected. After the death of cardinal Beaton, Mary of Guise, the queen-dowager, took a considerable share in the direction of affairs. She was warmly attached, both by blood and inclination, to the French interest; and no prospect of security appeared but in assistance from that quarter. Henry the Second, however, being then at peace with England, the queen represented, that they could not expect him to take part in their quarrel, but by making concessions in his favour. The prejudices of the nation coincided with those of the queen. The nobles, in the violence of their resentment, forgot that zeal for independence, which had prompted them to reject the proposals of Henry VIII. and by offering, voluntarily, their young queen in marriage to the dauphin, eldest son of Henry II. and which was still more, by proposing to send her immediately into France to be educated at his court, they granted, from a thirst of vengeance, what formerly they would not yield upon any consideration of their own safety. The French king, without hesitation, accepted the offer of the Scottish ambassadors, and prepared for the vigorous defence of his new acquisition. Six thousand veteran troops, under the command of Monsi. Deslé, with some of the best officers, who were formed in the long wars of Francis I. arrived at Leith. They served two campaigns in Scotland, with a spirit equal to their former fame, though their exploits were not considerable. They compelled the English to evacuate Haddington, and to surrender several small forts, which they possessed in different parts of the kingdom. But the consequences of these operations were of greater importance to the French king, than to the Scots. The diversion which they occasioned

*Resolution
to send the
queen to
France.*

enabled him to wrest Boulogne out of the hands of the English; and the influence of his army in Scotland obtained the concurrence of parliament with the overtures made to him, by the assembly of nobles at Stirling, concerning the queen's marriage with the dauphin, and her education at the court of France. In vain did a few patriots remonstrate against such extravagant concessions, by which Scotland was reduced to be a province of France. The friendship of that country became more fatal than the enmity of England; and every thing was fondly given up to the former, that had been bravely defended against the latter.

A.D. 1548.

The young queen carried to France.

The French party being prepared to carry the resolution of the parliament into immediate effect, the young queen, then only six years of age, was sent, without delay, into France, by the fleet which brought over their forces.

Immediately after the conclusion of the peace between France and England, the French troops left Scotland, as much to their own satisfaction, as to that of the nation.

A.D. 1550.

The Scots become jealous of the French.

Their insolence and rapaciousness had become extreme, and they affected to treat the natives of the country as a conquered people. The Scots, naturally irascible and high-spirited, were not disposed to admit the high pretensions of such assuming auxiliaries. The symptoms of alienation were soon visible; and on occasion of a very slight accident, the disgust broke out with fatal violence. A private French soldier engaging in an idle quarrel with a citizen of Edinburgh, both nations took arms, with equal courage, in defence of their countrymen. The provost of Edinburgh, his son, and several eminent citizens, were killed in the fray; and the French were obliged to avoid the fury of the inhabitants, by retiring out of the city.

The queen-dowager aspires to the office of regent,

Though Scotland had hitherto been unacquainted with the government of women, the queen-dowager, who possessed the same bold and aspiring spirit, which distinguished her family, had, by a dextrous application of her talents, acquired a considerable influence in the national councils; and without the smallest right to any share in the administration of public affairs, had engrossed the chief direction of them. But, not satisfied with the enjoyment of this precarious power, she began to set on foot new intrigues, with a design of supplanting the regent, and of obtaining for herself that high dignity; a scheme which was strenuously supported by her brothers, at the court of France, and had also the concurrence of the French king. The regent's inconstancy and irresolution, with the calamities

ities

mities which had befallen the kingdom under his administration, raised the prejudices both of the nobles and of the people against him, to a great height; and these the queen secretly fomented; until at last, the regent was induced to make a formal resignation of his authority^f.

A.D. 1554.

which she obtains.

The queen-regent began her administration, by conferring upon foreigners several offices of trust and dignity; a measure which failed not to excite great discontent among the natives of the kingdom. While their minds were in this disposition, an incident happened which greatly inflamed their aversion to the French councils. Ever since the famous contest between the houses of Valois and Plantagenet, the French had been accustomed to embarrass the English, and divide the strength of that kingdom by the formidable incursions of their allies, the Scots. But as those inroads were seldom attended with any national advantage to Scotland, and exposed it to the resentment of a powerful neighbour, the Scots scrupled any longer to serve an ambitious ally at the price of their own quiet and security. The change, too, which was daily introducing into the art of war, rendered the assistance of the Scottish forces of less importance to the French king. For these reasons, Henry, having resolved upon a war with Philip II. and foreseeing that the queen of England would take part in her husband's quarrel, was extremely desirous to secure, in Scotland, the assistance of some troops, which would be more at his command than an undisciplined army, led by chieftains who were almost independent. In prosecution of this design, but under pretence of relieving the nobles from the expence and danger of defending the borders, the queen-regent proposed, in parliament, to register the value of lands throughout the kingdom for imposing on them a small tax, and to apply the revenue towards maintaining a body of regular troops, in constant pay. A fixed tax upon land was accounted inconsistent with the free spirit of the feudal government; and nothing could be more base, in the eyes of a generous and brave nobility, than the intrusting, to mercenary hands, the defence of those territories which had been acquired, or preserved, by the blood of their ancestors. They received this proposal with the utmost indignation. About three hundred of the inferior barons repaired in a body to the queen-regent, and represented their sense of the intended innovation, with that manly

^f Lesley. Buch.

and determined boldness, which is natural to a free people, in a martial age. The queen prudently abandoned a scheme, which she found to be universally odious. But as she was known to understand the circumstances and temper of the nation, the proposed measure was imputed entirely to the suggestions of her foreign counsellors; against whom, therefore, the Scots were ready to proceed to the most violent extremities. The French, instead of extinguishing, added fuel to the flame. They had now commenced hostilities against Spain; and Philip had prevailed on the queen of England to assist him with a considerable body of her troops. In order to deprive him of this aid, Henry had recourse to the Scots. But as Scotland had nothing to dread from a princess of Mary's character, who was wholly occupied in endeavouring to reclaim her heretical subjects, the nobles, who were assembled by the queen-regent, listened with great coldness to the solicitations of the French monarch, and prudently declined engaging the kingdom in so unnecessary an enterprize. What she could not obtain by persuasion, the queen-regent brought about by stratagem. Notwithstanding the peace which subsisted between the two kingdoms, she commanded her French soldiers to rebuild a small fort near Berwick, which was appointed, by the last treaty, to be razed. The garrison of Berwick fellied out, interrupted the work, and ravaged the country. This insult roused the fiery spirit of the Scots, and their promptness to revenge the least appearance of national injury dissipated, in a moment, the wise and pacific resolutions which they had so lately formed. War was determined on, and orders instantly given for raising a numerous army. But before their forces could assemble, the ardour of their indignation had time to cool; and the English having discovered no intention to push the war with vigour, the nobles resumed their pacific system, and resolved to act entirely upon the defensive.

A.D. 1557.

*Insolent
conduct of
the French.*

While the Scots persisted in this resolution, d'Oysel, the commander of the French troops, who possessed entirely the confidence of the queen-regent, endeavoured, with her connivance, to engage the two nations in hostilities. Contrary to the orders of the Scottish general, he marched over the Tweed with his own soldiers, and invested Werk, a garrison of the English. The Scots, instead of seconding his attempt, were enraged at his presumption; and the indignation of the nobles broke out with such violence, that the queen, perceiving all attempts

to engage them in action to be vain, abruptly dismissed her army.

The queen-régent, finding her authority insufficient for enforcing the execution of her most favourite measures, resolved to establish it on a broader and more secure foundation, by hastening the conclusion of her daughter's marriage with the dauphin. The French king accordingly applied to the parliament of Scotland, which appointed eight of its members to represent the whole body of the nation, at the marriage of the queen. The instructions of the parliament to those commissioners still remain; and do honour to the wisdom and integrity of that assembly. At the same time that they manifested, with respect to the articles of marriage, a laudable concern for the dignity and interest of their sovereign, they employed every precaution which prudence could dictate, for preserving the liberty and independence of the nation; and for securing the succession of the crown in the house of Hamilton.

With regard to each of these, the Scots obtained whatever satisfaction their fear or jealousy could demand. The young queen, the dauphin, and the king of France, ratified every article, with the most solemn oaths, and confirmed them by deeds in form, under their hands and seals. But on the part of France, the whole of this transaction was one continued scene of elaborate deceit. Previous to these public ratifications, Mary had been persuaded to subscribe privately three deeds, equally unjust and invalid; by which, failing heirs of her own body, she conferred the kingdom of Scotland, with whatever inheritance or succession might accrue to it, in free gift upon the crown of France, declaring all promises to the contrary, which the necessity of her affairs, and the solicitations of her subjects had extorted, or might extort from her, to be void, and of no obligation. The queen of Scotland was the only innocent actor in this scene of iniquity. Her youth, her inexperience, her education in a foreign country, and her deference to her uncle's will, must vindicate her, in the judgment of every impartial person, from any imputation of blame on that account.

The marriage was celebrated with great pomp; and the French, who had hitherto affected to draw a veil over their designs upon Scotland, began now to unfold their intentions without any disguise. In the treaty of marriage, the deputies had agreed that the dauphin should assume the name of king of Scotland. This they considered

R

only

A.D. 1553.

The queen's marriage with the dauphin.

Artifices of the French in the marriage treaty.

A.D. 1558.

April 14.

only as an honorary title ; but the French laboured to annex to it some solid privileges and power. They insisted that the dauphin's title should be publicly recognized ; that the crown matrimonial should be conferred upon him ; and that all the rights pertaining to the husband of a queen should be vested in his person. By the laws of Scotland, a person who married an heiress, kept possession of her estate during his own life, if he happened to survive her and the children born of the marriage. This was called the " courtesy of Scotland." This rule, which takes place in private inheritances, the French aimed at applying to the succession of the kingdom ; and, notwithstanding their proposal, concerning the " crown matrimonial," met with a cold reception from the Scottish commissioners, they ventured to move it in parliament. The partizans of the house of Hamilton, suspicious of their designs upon the succession, opposed it with great zeal ; but at last, by the influence and address of the queen-regent, the Scots passed an act, conferring the " crown matrimonial" on the dauphin ; and with a credulity, unbecoming the wisdom of a legislative body, trusted to the frail security of words and statutes, against the dangerous incroachments of power.

The French king persuades queen Mary to assume the title of queen of England.

On the death of Mary, queen of England, which happened about this time, the French king applied to the pope for a bull to annul Elizabeth's right to the succession, in favour of the queen of Scotland. This was so far from being a secret, that his ministers, in the conferences for a peace which had begun in Mary's time, declared to the English commissioners, that they looked upon the queen of Scotland as heiress to the English crown. His holiness, having some hopes that queen Elizabeth would declare for the Roman Catholics in her dominions, and being, in other respects, not on a very good footing with Henry, rejected his application ; but the latter, fatally for queen Mary, obliged her to assume the designation and arms of England, and to quarter them with those of France and Scotland, upon all their plate and furniture. No preparations, however, were made to support this impolitic and premature claim. Elizabeth, who was already seated on the throne, possessed all the intrepidity of spirit, and all the arts of policy, which were necessary for maintaining that station ; and England was growing into reputation for naval power, while the marine of France had been utterly neglected. Scotland, therefore, being the only avenue by which the territories of Elizabeth could be approached, it

was on that side that the princes of Lorrain, who then governed the French councils, determined to make their attack; and by using the name and pretensions of the Scottish queen, they hoped to rouse the English catholics, formidable at that time by their zeal and numbers, and already exasperated against the government of Elizabeth.

It was vain to expect the assistance of the Scottish protestants to dethrone a queen, who was universally considered as the guardian of the reformed faith. To break, therefore, the power and reputation of that party in Scotland, became a necessary step towards the invasion of England. With this the princes of Lorrain, the brothers and counsellors of the queen-regent, resolved to begin their operations; and persecution being thought the only method of suppressing religious opinions, they determined to employ that expedient. The earl of Argyle, the prior of St. Andrew's, and other leaders of the party, were marked out by them for immediate destruction; and they hoped, by punishing them, to intimidate their followers. Instructions for this purpose were sent from France to the queen-regent. That humane and sagacious princess condemned a measure, which was equally violent and impolitic. By long residence in Scotland, she had become acquainted with the impatient temper of the nation, and the influence of the protestant leaders; and she had been a witness to the unconquerable resolution which religious fervour could inspire. She therefore endeavoured to dissuade her brother from so precipitate and dangerous a measure; but all her prudent remonstrances made no impression on their minds; and they insisted on the full and rigorous execution of their plan. The queen-regent, passionately devoted to the interest of France, and ready, on all occasions, to gratify the inclinations of her brothers, prepared to execute their commands with submission; and involuntarily became the instrument of exciting civil commotions in the kingdom ^b.

From the time of the queen's competition for the regency with the earl of Arran, the popish clergy had set themselves in opposition to all her measures; and her first step towards the execution of her new scheme, was to regain their favour. This was a matter of no great difficulty. The popish ecclesiastics, delighted with the prospect of triumphing over a faction, the encroachments of which

^b Lesley.

A.D. 1559.

*The regent
alters her
conduct
with re-
gard to the
Protestants.*

they had so long dreaded, and animated with the hopes of re-establishing their declining grandeur on a firmer basis, at once cancelled the memory of past injuries, and engaged to second the queen in all her attempts to check the progress of the Reformation. The queen, now secure of their assistance, openly approved of the decrees of the convocation, by which the principles of the reformers were condemned; and, at the same time, she issued a proclamation, enjoining all persons to observe the approaching festival of Easter, according to the ritual of the Romish church.

*She summons the
preachers
to appear
before her.*

The Protestants, seeing the danger approach, employed some of their leaders to expostulate with the queen-regent on this change of her conduct towards them; but instead of soothing their apprehensions, she avowed to them her resolution of extirpating the reformed religion out of the kingdom. Nor was she long in confirming this declaration by an act of authority. Upon hearing that the public exercise of the reformed religion had been introduced into the town of Perth, she commanded all the protestant preachers in the kingdom to be summoned to a court of justice, which was to be held at Stirling on the 10th of May. The Protestants, who, from their union, began, about this time, to be distinguished by the name of the Congregation, instantly took the alarm, and resolved to support, with all their power, what they deemed the interest of their religion. They, therefore, assembled in great numbers, to attend their pastors to Stirling. The queen-regent dreaded their approach with a train so numerous, though disarmed; and, to prevent them from advancing, she sent a person of eminent authority with the party, to promise, in her name, that she would put a stop to the intended trial, on condition, that the preachers and their retinue should come no nearer to Stirling. The Protestants listened with pleasure to this proposal; the preachers, with a few leaders of the party, remained at Perth; and the multitude retired to their own habitations.

*Breaks a
promise on
which they
had relied.*

*An insur-
rection at
Perth.*

The queen-regent, notwithstanding this solemn promise, proceeded to call to trial the persons who had been summoned, and, upon their non-appearance, they were pronounced out-laws. By this shameful artifice, the queen-regent forfeited the esteem and confidence of the whole nation. The Protestants prepared boldly for their own defence; and numbers of them assembled at Perth, where they were farther stimulated to opposition by the popular oratory

oratory of the celebrated John Knox, now returned from the continent. By a vehement harangue against idolatry, he inflamed the multitude with the most enthusiastic rage. The indiscretion of a priest, who, immediately after Knox's sermon, was preparing to celebrate mass, precipitated them into immediate action. With irresistible violence they fell upon the churches in that city, overturned the altars, defaced the pictures, broke in pieces the images; and proceeding next to the monasteries, they, in a few hours, laid those sumptuous places almost level with the ground.

This riot, though only an accidental eruption of popular rage, the queen-regent considered as the effect of previous deliberation; and she determined to inflict the severest vengeance on the whole party. With a body of forces, therefore, she marched directly to Perth, in hopes of surprising the protestant leaders, before they could assemble their followers, whom, out of confidence in her disingenuous promises, they had been rashly induced to dismiss. The Protestants would gladly have soothed the queen, by conciliatory addresses, but, finding her obstinately bent upon her purpose, they took vigorous measures for their own defence. Their adherents flocked in such numbers to Perth, that they not only secured the town from danger, but, in a few days, were in a condition to take the field against the queen, who advanced with an army of seven thousand men.

The regent marches against them.

Notwithstanding the zeal of both parties, neither was impatient to engage. The queen dreaded the event of a battle with men who were animated with all the fervour of religion; and the Protestants, on the other hand, declined hazarding an action, the ill success of which might prove the utter ruin of their cause. An accommodation, therefore, was highly acceptable to both sides, and a treaty was accordingly concluded. It was stipulated, that both armies should be disbanded, and the gates of Perth set open to the queen; that an indemnity should be granted to all concerned in the late insurrection; that no French soldier should approach within three miles of the town; and that a parliament should immediately be held, in order to compose whatever differences remained.

A treaty concluded.

To this solemn engagement the queen-regent paid as little regard as to her former promise. No sooner were the protestant forces dismissed, than she broke every article of the treaty. It was now apparent, that not only the religion, but the liberties of the kingdom were threatened; and that the French troops were to be employed as instru-

Fruitless conduct of the queen-regent.

The Protestants again take arms.

ments in this plan of subjection. The earl of Argyle and the prior of St. Andrew's instantly deserted, where faith and honour seemed to be no longer regarded. The barons from the neighbouring counties repaired to them; the preachers roused the people to arms; and wherever they came, they instigated the populace to destroy the churches and monasteries.

The queen-regent, in order to check their career, immediately put her troops in motion; but in a short time the leaders of the Congregation were able to meet her with a superior force. She enjoined them to lay down their arms; but instead of obeying her, they demanded the redress of their religious grievances; and, as a preliminary towards settling the nation, required that the French troops should be immediately ordered to quit the kingdom. It was not in the queen's power to make so important a concession, without the concurrence of Henry; and as some time was requisite for obtaining his consent, she hoped, during the interval, to receive such reinforcements from France, as would ensure the accomplishment of her design. She agreed, however, to a cessation of arms for eight days, and before the expiration of that time, engaged to transport the French troops to the south side of the Forth; and to send commissioners to St. Andrew's, who should endeavour to bring all differences to an accommodation. As she hoped, by means of the French troops, to over-awe the Protestants in the southern counties, the former article in this treaty was punctually executed; but the latter, having been inserted, merely to amuse the Congregation, was no longer remembered.

A second treaty negotiated.

By these repeated and wanton instances of perfidy, the queen-regent lost all credit with her adversaries; and they again took arms with more inflamed resentment. The removing of the French forces had laid open to them all the country situated between the Forth and Tay. The inhabitants of Perth, alone remaining subjected to the insolence and exactions of the garrison, which the queen had left there, implored the assistance of the Congregation for their relief. Thither they marched, and having, without effect, required the queen to evacuate the town in terms of the former treaty, they prepared to besiege it in form. The queen endeavoured, by negotiation, to divert them from this enterprize; but, without listening to her offers, the Protestants continued the siege, and soon obliged the garrison to capitulate. The leaders of the Congregation next seized upon Stirling, where the inhabitants set open

to them the gates of the town. They thence advanced, with the same rapidity, towards Edinburgh, which the queen, on their approach, abandoned with precipitation, and retired to Dunbar. The Protestant army, wherever it came, kindled, or spread the ardor of Reformation; spoiling the churches of every ornament, and laying all the monasteries in ruins. But amidst these violent proceedings, the leaders of the Congregation so far restrained the rage of their followers, that few of the Roman catholics were exposed to any personal insult, and not a single man suffered death. No more than three hundred men marched out of Perth under the earl of Argyle and the prior of St. Andrew's; but as they advanced, the people joined them in a body; and their army seldom consisted of less than five thousand men. The gates of every town were thrown open to receive them; and, without striking a single blow, they took possession of the capital of the kingdom.

The reformers, encouraged by this success, began to extend their views, and to rise in their demands. They now openly aimed at establishing the protestant doctrine on the ruins of popery. With this intention, they determined to fix their residence at Edinburgh, where, by their appointment, Knox and some other preachers taking possession of the pulpits, declaimed against the errors of popery, with such fervent zeal, as soon added to the number of their proselytes.

When the leaders of the Congregation had been two months in arms, their followers imagining the work to be now done, retired to their own habitations; only a few of the more zealous or wealthy barons remaining with their preachers at Edinburgh. The queen-regent had, during the whole time, amused them with negotiations, which she artfully spun out, until the party dwindled to an inconsiderable number, and, lulled into security, became careless of military discipline. Finding now a proper opportunity, she advanced, unexpectedly, by a sudden march in the night with all her forces. On her appearing before Edinburgh, the inhabitants were thrown into the utmost consternation; and she would have easily forced her way into the city, if the seasonable conclusion of a truce had not procured her admission, without the effusion of blood.

It was stipulated by this treaty, that the Protestants should open the gates of Edinburgh next morning to the queen-regent; remain in dutiful subjection to her government; abstain from all farther violation of religious houses;

A new treaty.

houses; and give no interruption to the established clergy, either in the discharge of their functions, or in the enjoyment of their benefices. On the other hand, the queen agreed to give no molestation to the preachers or professors of the protestant religion; to allow no other mode of worship in Edinburgh but the reformed; and to permit the free and public exercise of it all over the kingdom. The queen, by these liberal concessions, hoped to sooth the Protestants, and to render them more compliant with respect to other articles, particularly the expulsion of the French troops out of Scotland. The anxiety which the queen expressed for retaining this body of men, rendered them more and more the objects of national jealousy and aversion. A new address for their immediate expulsion was therefore presented to the queen, who, taking advantage of the distress of the adverse party, eluded the request, and would consent to nothing more than that a French garrison should not be introduced into Edinburgh.

July 8th.

*Accession of
Francis II.
to the
crown of
France.*

About this time, died Henry II. of France; just when he had adopted a system with regard to the affairs of Scotland, which would, it is probable, have restored union and tranquillity to that kingdom. Towards the close of his reign, the princes of Lorraine began, visibly, to decline in favour; but on the accession of Francis II. a prince void of genius and experience, they again assumed the chief direction of French affairs. Allied so nearly to the throne, by the marriage of their niece the queen of Scots with the young king, they now wanted but little of the regal dignity, and nothing of the regal power. Their ambition was too great to let this power remain long inactive; and they resumed the vast schemes which they had planned in the former reign. Beholding, with infinite regret, the progress of the reformed religion in Scotland, and sensible how much it would obstruct their designs, they bent all their strength to check its growth before it should rise to any greater height. For this purpose they proceeded with all expedition in preparations for supplying the queen-regent, their sister, with such a reinforcement as might render her authority in the government of Scotland irresistible.

The lords of the Congregation were no less active in providing against the impending danger. They entered into a stricter bond of confederacy and mutual defence; and the strength of their new association was increased by the accession of the duke of Chatelherault, and his eldest son

son the earl of Arran. The former of these was considered, from that time, as the head of the party. But this distinction was merely nominal. James Stuart, prior of St. Andrew's, and a natural son of James V. was the person who actuated the whole body of the Protestants, among whom he possessed unbounded confidence. He, with other natural sons of the same amorous monarch, had been destined for the church, where he might be placed in a station of dignity and affluence; but he soon became disgusted with the indolence and retirement of a monastic life, and resolved to take a part on a more conspicuous theatre, for which he was qualified, both by his military genius, and political discernment. The queen-regent, dreading the enmity of so formidable an opponent, endeavoured to lessen his influence, and to scatter among his associates the seeds of jealousy and distrust, by insinuating, that the ambition of the prior aimed at nothing less than the crown^k.

The queen-regent now received from France a reinforcement of a thousand soldiers, whom she immediately ordered to fortify Leith, where she resolved to fix the head-quarters of her foreign auxiliaries, and where the French, in order to bring the town entirely to their command, turned out a great number of the inhabitants. The lords of the Congregation, alarmed at these proceedings, represented to the queen-regent, in the strongest terms, their dissatisfaction, and beseeched her to dissipate the fears of the nation, by desisting to fortify Leith. The queen, conscious of her present advantageous situation, and elated with the hopes of fresh succours, was in no disposition for listening to their demands; and she was, by the suggestions of her French counsellors, rendered still more averse to any scheme of accommodation. The princes of Lorrain, however, had not trusted entirely to the queen's firmness, but had sent over into Scotland several French divines, who might contribute, by their skill in theological controversy, to oppose the progress of the Reformation. At the head of these, and with the character of legate from the pope, was Pellevé, bishop of Amiens, and afterwards archbishop and cardinal of Sens, a furious bigot, fervently devoted to the house of Guise, and a proper instrument for recommending or executing the most violent measures. These zealots were not long

Troops arrive from France, and fortify Leith.

The Protestants remonstrate against this.

The regent disregards their remonstrance.

^k Lesley.

*They have
recourse to
arms.*

of giving offence to the nation. They persuaded the queen to seize the church of St. Giles in Edinburgh, which had remained, since the late truce, in the hands of the Protestants; and having, by a new and solemn consecration, purified the fabric from the pollution, with which they supposed it to have been defiled by the profane ministrations of the Protestants, they, in direct contradiction to an article in the late treaty, re-established there the rites of the Romish church. This, added to the indifference, and even contempt, with which the queen received their remonstrances, convinced the lords of the Congregation, that there remained no other measure for securing the liberties of the kingdom, but to take up arms in their own defence. This bold step, therefore, they adopted, without delay. A small part of the French auxiliaries had as yet arrived; and the fortifications of Leith, though advancing fast, were still far from being completed. In this situation, they conceived it possible to surprize the queen's party, and by one sudden blow, to prevent all future bloodshed and contention. Full of these expectations, they advanced rapidly towards Edinburgh, with a numerous army. But the queen, who had foreseen the danger, took the only proper course to avoid it. She retired into Leith, and determined to wait patiently the arrival of new reinforcements. Meanwhile, however, she again had recourse to those arts, which she had often employed, to weaken and divide her adversaries. In these attempts, she seems not to have been entirely unsuccessful; but though the zeal of some of the party suffered a short intermission, it soon blazed out with fresh vigour, occasioned by the haughtiness of the queen, who not only rejected a new remonstrance, but required them, on pain of treason, to disband the forces which they had assembled.

This imperious style was ill suited to procure the submission of the Scottish nobles, who wanted not spirit to resent an indignity, even from their sovereign. That they might not seem to depart from the established forms of the constitution, they assembled the whole peers, barons, and representatives of boroughs, who adhered to their party; a convention which exceeded in number, and equalled in dignity, the usual meeting of parliament. The leaders of the Congregation laid before them the answer which the queen-regent had given to their remonstrance, and required their direction with regard to the obedience due to so arbitrary an administration. The assembly was unanimously of opinion, that it was lawful for subjects not only
to

to resist tyrannical princes, but to deprive them of their authority; and they accordingly voted for depriving the queen of the office of regent, which she had exercised so much to the detriment of the kingdom¹.

The queen-regent deprived of her office.

The lords of the Congregation soon found, that their zeal had engaged them in an undertaking, which it was beyond their ability to accomplish. The French garrison, despising their numerous, but undisciplined forces, refused to surrender Leith, and to depart out of the kingdom.

The confederates, so far from being supplied with the necessary implements of war, had not even money sufficient to pay their army. The latter broke out into open mutiny; and the most eminent leaders were scarce secure from the unbridled insolence of the soldiers. In this situation of their affairs, the Congregation had recourse to Elizabeth, with whose ministers some of the leaders had before entered into a secret correspondence. That princess, sensible of how much importance it would be, not only to check the progress of the French in Scotland, but to extend her own influence in that kingdom, listened with pleasure to these applications of the malcontents, and gave them private assurances of powerful support to their cause.

The Congregation involved in difficulties.

Randolph, an agent extremely proper for conducting any dark intrigue, was sent into Scotland, and residing secretly among the lords of the Congregation, observed and quickened their motions. Money seemed to be then the only thing wanted; and to supply that defect, a remittance was sent them from England. But Elizabeth being distrustful of the Scots, and studious to preserve appearances with France, her subsidies were bestowed at first with extreme frugality. Discouraged by the capture of a supply, which had been transmitted from England, and by two unsuccessful skirmishes with the French, the Congregation thought themselves not secure, even within the walls of Edinburgh, but instantly determined to retire to some place at a greater distance from the enemy. In vain did the prior of St. Andrew's, and a few others, oppose this ignominious flight. At midnight they set out from Edinburgh, in great confusion, and marched without halting, until they arrived at Stirling.

They apply to Elizabeth.

Before they reached Stirling, their army was dwindled to an inconsiderable number, but the party had been lately strengthened by the accession of Maitland of Lethington, a man of abilities, and principal secretary to the queen-

¹ Buchanan.

regent. Knox also still continued his oratorical exertions; and, mounting the pulpit, addressed his desponding hearers, in an exhortation which greatly revived them^k.

*The lords
of the Con-
gregation
apply again
to Eliza-
beth.*

A meeting of the leaders being called, it was resolved once more to implore the assistance of Elizabeth; and Maitland was dispatched as a negociator for this purpose. That queen immediately determined to afford them more effectual aid. A messenger was sent to Scotland with the strongest assurances of her protection; and the Congregation were desired to send commissioners into England, to conclude a treaty, and to settle the plan of operations.

*The queen-
regent sends
her French
troops
against
them.*

Meanwhile the queen-regent, being informed of this negotiation, determined to take, if possible, the start of the English auxiliaries. A considerable body, therefore, of her French forces, which were by this time augmented, was ordered to march to Stirling. In their progress along the coast of Fife, they plundered and destroyed, with excessive outrage, the houses and lands of those whom they esteemed their enemies. But some of the leaders of the Congregation having assembled six hundred horse, they infested the French with continual incursions, intercepted their convoys of provisions, cut off their straggling parties, and so harrassed them with perpetual alarms, that they prevented them for more than three weeks from advancing.

A.D. 1560.

*The English
fleet ar-
rives to
their assist-
ance.*

At the end of this period, the French were astonished with the sight of an English fleet, which was arrived to the assistance of the Congregation, and was soon to be followed by a powerful land-army. The French, now apprehensive of being cut off from their companions on the opposite shore, retreated towards Stirling with the utmost precipitation, whence they arrived at Leith, harrassed and exhausted with fatigue.

The English fleet cast anchor in the road of Leith, where continuing until the conclusion of peace, they both prevented the French garrison from receiving succours of any kind, and facilitating the operations of their own forces by land.

*The English
army lays
siege to
Leith.*

An English army, consisting of six thousand foot, and two thousand horse, under the command of lord Grey of Wilton, entered Scotland early in the spring. The members of the Congregation assembled from all parts of the kingdom to meet their new allies; and having joined them with great numbers of their followers, they advanced together towards Leith. The French were little able to

^k Burnet.

keep the field against an enemy so much superior; but they hoped to be able to defend Leith, until the princes of Lorraine should make good the magnificent promises of assistance, with which they daily encouraged them; or until scarcity of provisions should constrain the English to retire into their own country.

On the approach of the English army, the queen regent retired into the castle of Edinburgh. Her health was now in a declining state, and her mind broken and depressed by the misfortunes of her administration. To avoid the danger and fatigue of a siege, she committed herself to the protection of lord Erskine, a nobleman who still preserved his neutrality, and merited the esteem of both parties. In this situation she died in a short time after.

*Death of
the queen-
regent.*

A few days after the arrival of the English troops in Scotland, they formed the siege of Leith, where nothing could now save the French troops, but the immediate conclusion of a peace, or the arrival of a powerful army from the continent. The ambition of the princes of Lorraine was at this time called off from foreign conquests, to defend the honour and dignity of the French crown; and instead of sending new reinforcements into Scotland, it became necessary to withdraw the veteran troops already employed in that kingdom. A negotiation for this purpose was therefore set on foot, and soon after concluded. In this treaty, the right of Elizabeth to her crown is acknowledged in the strongest terms; and Francis and Mary solemnly engage, neither to assume the title, nor to bear the arms of king and queen of England, in any time to come. A few days after the conclusion of the treaty, both the French and English armies quitted Scotland.

*Articles of
a treaty.*

A meeting was now summoned, under the denomination of a parliament, towards which were turned the eyes of the whole kingdom. This assembly was ready to enter on business with the utmost zeal, when a difficulty was started concerning the lawfulness of the meeting. No commissioner appeared in the name of the king and queen, and no signification of their consent and approbation was yet received; circumstances which were deemed by many essential to the being of a parliament. At last, however, this objection was over-ruled, and they proceeded to business. They began with passing an act of oblivion, and nominating twenty-four persons, out of whom the council, entrusted with supreme authority, was to be elected. The article of religion next employed their deliberate consideration.

*Aug. 1st.
A parliament.*

ration. They condemned all those doctrines which had been mentioned in the petition of the Protestants; and they gave their sanction to a confession of faith, presented to them by the reformed teachers. By another act, the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts was abolished, and the causes, which formerly came under their cognizance, were transferred to the decision of civil judges. By a third statute, the exercise of religious worship, according to the rites of the Romish church, was prohibited. In reforming the doctrine and discipline of the church, the nobles kept pace with the ardor even of Knox himself; but when they entered on the consideration of ecclesiastical revenues, their proceedings were as remarkably dilatory¹.

An ambassador sent by the parliament to France.

In consequence of the treaty of Edinburgh, as well as by the ordinary forms of business, it became necessary to lay the proceedings of parliament before the king and queen. For this purpose, sir James Sandilands, of Calder, was appointed to repair to the court of France. The members of the parliament had no reason to expect that Francis and Mary would ever approve of their conduct, or confirm it by their royal assent; nor were they mistaken in this opinion. Their ambassador was treated by the king and queen with the utmost coldness, and dismissed without obtaining the ratification of the proceedings of parliament. This transaction was soon followed by the death of Francis II. a prince of a feeble constitution, and of a mean understanding. As he left no issue by the queen, no incident could have been more fortunate to those, who, during the late commotions in Scotland, had taken part with the Congregation; and the news of this account, therefore, was received by the Scots with great joy.

Death of Francis II.

A.D. 1561.

The queen invited to return to Scotland.

The convention now appointed the prior of St. Andrew's to repair to the queen, with an invitation to return into her native country, and to assume the reins of government. But Mary seems to have been in no haste to accomplish her journey. Accustomed to the splendor and gaiety of a polite court, and contemplating, with horror, the barbarism of her own country, she fondly lingered in France as the scene of all her enjoyments. But while she was preparing for her voyage, there was sown between her and Elizabeth the seeds of that personal jealousy and discord, which embittered the life, and shortened the days of the Scottish queen.

¹ Keith.

The ratification of the late treaty of Edinburgh was the immediate occasion of this fatal animosity; but the true causes of it lay much deeper. Almost every article in that treaty had been executed with the most scrupulous exactness. The sixth article remained the only source of contest and difficulty. This related to the acknowledgement that the crowns of England and Ireland did of right belong only to Elizabeth, and a declaration that, in all times to come, Mary should abstain from using the titles, or bearing the arms of those kingdoms. The ratification of this article would have been of the most fatal consequence to Mary. Her pretensions to the crown of England were of too much importance to be renounced. By many her title was esteemed preferable to that of Elizabeth. Among the English themselves, the Roman catholics, who formed at that time a numerous and active party, openly espoused this opinion; and even the Protestants, who supported Elizabeth's crown, could not deny the queen of Scots to be her immediate heir. Mary, therefore, by ratifying the article in dispute, would have lost that rank which she had hitherto held among neighbouring princes; the zeal of her adherents must have cooled; and she might have renounced, from that moment, all hopes of ever wearing the English crown.

*Origin of
the discord
between
her and
Elizabeth.*

Elizabeth, sensible of all these consequences, had recourse to every expedient, by which she could hope either to soothe or frighten the Scottish queen into a compliance with her demands. But though Mary had been obliged to suspend, for some time, the prosecution of her title to the English crown, she had not relinquished it. Secretly determined to revive her claim on a favourable opportunity, she was unwilling to bind herself, by a positive engagement, not to take advantage of any such fortunate occurrence.

But though considerations of interest first occasioned this rupture between the British queens, rivalry of a different kind contributed to widen the breach, and female jealousy increased the violence of their political hatred. Though Elizabeth was infinitely inferior to Mary in beauty and gracefulness of person, she was weak enough to compare herself with the Scottish queen; and, as it was impossible she could be altogether ignorant how much Mary gained by the comparison, she envied and hated her, as a rival by whom she was eclipsed. These considerations, however unworthy the character of Elizabeth

beth in other respects, influenced not only her present, but her subsequent conduct towards Mary.

Elizabeth, though no stranger to Mary's difficulties with respect to the treaty, continued to urge her, by repeated applications, to ratify it; while Mary, under various pretences, contrived to gain time, and elude the request. Both of them, however, in their mutual intercourse, exhibited an extreme politeness of behaviour, loading each other with professions of sisterly love, and with reciprocal declarations of unalterable friendship and esteem. But it was not long before Mary was convinced of the emptiness of those declarations on the part of Elizabeth. In sailing from France to Scotland, the course of Mary's voyage lay along the English coast. In order to be safe from the insults of the English fleet, or, in case of tempestuous weather, to secure a retreat in the harbours of that kingdom, Mary applied to Elizabeth for a safe-conduct. This request, which decency required Elizabeth should grant, she however refused; and in such a manner, as gave rise to no slight suspicion of a design, either to obstruct the passage, or to intercept the person of the Scottish queen ^m.

Mary begins her voyage.

This ungenerous behaviour of Elizabeth filled Mary with indignation, but did not retard her departure from France. She was accompanied to Calais, the place where she embarked in a manner suitable to her dignity, as the queen of two powerful kingdoms. In her retinue were six princes of Lorrain, her uncles, with many of the most eminent among the French nobility. After bidding adieu to her mourning attendants, with a sad heart, and her eyes bathed in tears, Mary left that kingdom, the short, but only scene of her life in which fortune smiled upon her. While the French coast continued in sight, she intently gazed upon it: she even ordered her couch to be brought upon the deck, and enjoined the pilot to awaken her, if in the morning the coast of France should be in view. A dead calm flattered her anxious fondness. In the morning the shores of that country, which had engrossed so strongly her affections, were still to be seen. To these objects she again turned her view; she sighed, and exclaimed with tears, "Farewel France! Farewel beloved country, which I shall never more behold!" Mary escaped the English fleet, which lay in wait to in-

Arrives in Scotland.

^m Keith. Camden.

tercept

tercept her; and, on the 19th of August, after an absence of near thirteen years, landed safely at Leith, in her native dominions. She was received by her subjects with great demonstrations of joy; but as her arrival was unexpected, no suitable preparation had been made for it, and she was affected by the want of splendor and magnificence, to which she had been accustomed.

Never did any sovereign ascend the throne at a time which called for more wisdom and vigour in administration. The rage of religious controversy was still unabated. The absence of the queen had accustomed the nobles to independence. A state of total anarchy had prevailed during the two last years. The English, of enemies now become confederates, had grown into confidence with the nation, and gained an ascendancy in all its councils. Every consideration, whether of interest or self-preservation, inclined Elizabeth to depress the royal authority in Scotland, and to create the sovereign perpetual difficulties, by fomenting the spirit of dissatisfaction among the people. In this posture were the affairs of Scotland, when the administration fell into the hands of a young queen, not nineteen years of age, unacquainted with the manners and laws of her country, a stranger to her subjects, without experience, without allies, and almost without a friend. The circumstances from which she chiefly derived any advantage were those of her own person. Her beauty and gracefulness attracted universal admiration, which was increased by the elegance and politeness of her manners.

State of the kingdom at that time.

On the Sunday after her arrival, the zealous and impatient spirit of the age broke out in a remarkable instance. She commanded mass to be celebrated in the chapel of her palace. The first rumour of this occasioned a secret murmuring among the Protestants who attended the court; complaints and threatenings soon followed; the servants belonging to the chapel were insulted and abused, and, if the prior of St. Andrew's had not seasonably interposed, the rioters might have proceeded to the utmost excesses. He, and the other leaders of the party, not only restrained the impetuous spirit, but obtained for the queen and her domestics the undisturbed exercise of the catholic religion; a compliance which, in return, obtained from the queen a proclamation highly favourable to that of the Protestants. The reformed doctrine, though established all over the kingdom, had never received the sanction of royal authority. On this occasion the queen declared any

S

attempt

attempt towards an alteration or subversion of it to be a capital crime.

*She employs
only Prote-
stants in
the admin-
istration.*

The queen, conformably to the plan which had been concerted in France, committed the administration of affairs entirely to Protestants; not a single Papist was admitted into any degree of confidence. The prior of St. Andrew's, and Maitland of Lethington, possessed all the power and reputation of favourite ministers. Mary, in the beginning of her administration, seems to have been desirous of accomplishing a cordial reconciliation with Elizabeth; but there occurred many events which rather widened than closed the breach between them. The formal offices of friendship, however, were not neglected on either side. Elizabeth, though she had attempted so openly to obstruct the queen's voyage into Scotland, did not fail, in a few days after her arrival, to command Randolph to congratulate her safe return. Mary, in return, sent Maitland to the English court, with many expressions of regard for Elizabeth. Both ministers, however, were entrusted with other instructions than those of mere compliment and ceremony. Randolph urged Mary, with fresh importunity, to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, while Maitland endeavoured to amuse Elizabeth, by apologizing for the dilatory conduct of his mistress with regard to that point. But Mary was brought to yield a point, which formerly she seemed determined never to renounce. She instructed Maitland to signify her willingness to disclaim any right to the crown of England during the life of Elizabeth, and the lives of her posterity, if, in failure of these, she were declared next heir by act of parliament.

Reasonable as this proposal might appear to Mary, nothing could be more inconsistent with Elizabeth's interest, or more contradictory to a passion which predominated in the character of that princess; for she was tinctured with a jealousy of her right to the crown, which often betrayed her into mean and ungenerous actions. The manner in which she received this ill-timed proposal of the Scottish queen, was no other than what might have been expected. She rejected it in a peremptory tone, with many expressions of a resolution never to permit a point of so much delicacy to be touched.

*The queen
restrains
the licence
of the bor-
derers.*

To restore the regular administration of justice, and to reform the internal policy of the country, became early an object of the queen's care. In the counties which border

der on England this defect was most apparent, and the consequences most sensibly felt. Outrages were daily committed by the banditti, both on their own countrymen and the English. To restrain and punish those excesses, the prior of St. Andrew's was sent thither with a considerable force; and he executed his commission with such vigour and prudence, as greatly increased his reputation^a.

The conciliating conduct of the queen, and the elegance of her court, had mitigated, in some degree, the ferocity of the nobles, at the same time that her presence and authority were a check to their factious and tumultuary spirit. But, as a state of order and tranquillity was not natural to the feudal aristocracy, it could not be of long continuance, and this year became remarkable for the most violent eruptions of intestine discord and animosity. A dissension had subsisted between the earl of Hamilton and the earl of Bothwell, and was heightened by mutual injuries during the late commotions. The earl of Arran and Bothwell happening to be in waiting at the same time, their followers quarrelled frequently in the streets of Edinburgh, and excited dangerous tumults in that city. At last the mediation of their friends, particularly Knox, brought about a reconciliation, but an unfortunate one to both those noblemen, who were equally exasperated against the prior of St. Andrew's; as was likewise the earl of Huntley, whose schemes were deeper laid, and produced more tragical events. This nobleman had observed, with the greatest concern, the growing reputation and authority of the prior of St. Andrew's, whom he considered as a rival who had engrossed that share in the queen's confidence, to which his own zeal for the popish religion seemed to give him a preferable title. The misunderstanding was soon increased by personal injuries. The queen having determined to reward the services of the prior of St. Andrew's, by creating him an earl, she made choice of Mar, as the place where he should take his title; and bestowed on him, at the same time, the lands of that name. These were part of the royal demesnes, but the earls of Huntley had been permitted, for several years, to keep possession of them. On this occasion the earl was farther alarmed at the intrusion of a formidable neighbour into the heart of his territories, who might be able to rival his power, and excite

^a Keith. Lesley.

his oppressed vassals to shake off his yoke. An incident, which happened soon after, increased and confirmed Huntley's suspicions. Sir John Gordon, his third son, had a dispute with lord Ogilvie about the property of an estate. They happened unfortunately to meet in the streets of Edinburgh, and being both attended with armed followers, there ensued a scuffle, in which lord Ogilvie was dangerously wounded by sir John. The magistrates seized both the offenders, and the queen commanded them to be strictly confined. But in an age accustomed to licence, even this moderate exercise of the royal power was deemed an act of intolerable rigour, and the friends of each party began to assemble their vassals and dependants, in order to overawe, or to frustrate the decisions of justice. Meanwhile Gordon made his escape out of prison, and, flying into Aberdeenshire, complained loudly of the indignity with which he had been treated.

At the time when these passions were fermenting in the minds of the earl of Huntley and his family, the queen happened to set out on a progress into the northern parts of the kingdom, whither she was attended by the earls of Mar and Morton, Maitland, and other leaders of that party. On Mary's arrival in the North, Huntley employed his wife to soothe the queen, and to intercede for pardon to their son. But the queen peremptorily required, that he should again deliver himself into the hands of justice, and rely on her clemency. Gordon was persuaded to do so; and being enjoined by the queen to enter himself prisoner at the castle of Sirling, he promised likewise to obey that command. Sir John Gordon set out towards Stirling, but, instead of performing his promise to the queen, made his escape from his guards, and returned to take the command of his followers, who were rising in arms all over the North. Those were destined to second the blow by which his father proposed, secretly, to cut off at once Mar, Morton, and Maitland, his principal adversaries. The time and place for perpetrating this horrid deed were frequently appointed; but the execution of it was as often prevented by unforeseen accidents. His own house at Strathbogie was the last and most convenient scene appointed for committing the intended violence. But, on her journey thither, the queen heard of young Gordon's flight and rebellion, and refusing, in the first transports of her indignation, to enter under the father's roof, by that fortunate expression of her

her resentment, saved her ministers from otherwise unavoidable destructionⁿ.

Huntley, finding it impossible to work the ruin of his rivals without violating the allegiance which he owed his sovereign, broke out into open rebellion. On the queen's arrival at Inverness, the commanding officer in the castle, by Huntley's orders, shut the gates against her. Mary was obliged to lodge in the town, which was open and defenceless; but even this was quickly surrounded by a multitude of the earl's followers. The queen being justly alarmed at such an appearance of danger, some ships were ordered into the river to secure her escape. But the loyalty of some of the neighbouring clans, who took arms in her defence, extricated her from this embarrassment. By their assistance she even forced the castle to surrender, and inflicted on the governor the punishment which his insolence deserved.

This open act of disobedience was the occasion of a measure more galling to Huntley than any the queen had hitherto taken. Lord Erskine having pretended a right to the earldom of Mar, it was resigned to him by Stuart, who, at the same time, received from the queen the title of earl of Murray, with the annexed estate, which had been in the possession of the earl of Huntley since the year 1548. From this he concluded, that his family was devoted to destruction; and, dreading to be stripped gradually of his possessions, he no longer disguised his designs, but, in defiance of the queen's proclamation, openly took arms. Instead of yielding those places of strength, which Mary required him to surrender, his followers dispersed or cut in pieces the parties which she dispatched to take possession of them; and he himself, advancing with a considerable body of men towards Aberdeen, to which place the queen was now returned, filled her small court with consternation. Murray, in order to form the appearance of an army, was obliged to call in the assistance of the neighbouring barons; but as most of these either favoured Huntley's designs, or stood in awe of his power, no effectual service could be expected from them. With these troops, however, he marched briskly towards the enemy, whom he found at Corrichie, posted to great advantage. He instantly commanded his associates to begin the attack; but, on the first motion of the enemy, they treacherously turned their backs. Huntley's followers,

ⁿ Keith, Lesley.

*Huntley
defeated,
and killed.*

*Sir John
Gordon be-
headed.*

sword in hand, rushed forward to the pursuit. Murray took post upon a rising ground, with the small, but trusty body of his adherents, who, presenting their spears to the assailants, received them with a resolution which they had little expected. Before Huntley's troops recovered from the confusion of this unforeseen resistance, those of Murray's army, who had begun the flight, immediately returned to the charge, and obtained a complete victory. Huntley himself, who was extremely corpulent, was trodden to death in the pursuit. His sons, sir John and Adam, were taken, and carried, by Murray, with the other prisoners, in triumph to Aberdeen. Sir John Gordon was tried, and in three days beheaded; but his brother, on account of his youth, was pardoned. The eldest son, lord Gordon, who had been privy to his father's designs, was seized in the South, and, upon trial, found guilty of treason; but, through the queen's clemency, the punishment was remitted.

A.D. 1563.

*Negotia-
tions with
regard to
the queen's
marriage.*

Mary had now continued above two years in a state of widowhood; and, being celebrated for her beauty and accomplishments, many princes were prompted to solicit an alliance so illustrious. All Europe waited with solicitude for Mary's determination; and no event in that age excited more fears and jealousies, or gave rise to more intrigues, than the marriage of the Scottish queen. Her alliance was courted by the archduke Charles, son to Ferdinand III. by don Carlos of Spain, and by the duke of Anjou.

*The views
of Eliza-
beth.*

Mary attentively weighed the pretensions of so many rivals. The archduke had little to recommend him but his high birth. The example of Henry VIII. was a warning against contracting a marriage with the brother of her former husband; nor could she bear the thoughts of appearing in France in a rank inferior to what she had formerly held in that kingdom. But while she listened, therefore, with partiality to the Spanish propositions, several reasons concurred to divert her from a foreign alliance. One of these was, the opinion of the queen of England. The marriage of the Scottish queen interested Elizabeth deeply; and she observed all Mary's deliberations with an anxious attention. She herself seems early to have formed a resolution of living unmarried; and she discovered no small inclination to impose the same law on the queen of Scots. She was sensible what use might be

made of Mary's power and pretensions, to invade her dominions, and to disturb her possession of the crown. She, therefore, instructed Randolph to remonstrate, in the strongest terms, against an alliance with any of the Austrian princes; and to acquaint Mary, that, as she herself would consider such a match to be a breach of their personal friendship, so the English nation would regard it as the dissolution of that confederacy which now subsisted between the two kingdoms; and that, in order to preserve their religion and liberties, they would, in all probability, take some step prejudicial to her right of succession. This threatening was accompanied with a promise, but expressed in very ambiguous terms, that, if Mary's choice of a husband should prove agreeable to the English, Elizabeth would appoint proper persons to examine her title to the succession, and, if well founded, command it to be publicly recognized. She, at the same time, threw out some obscure hints, that a native of Britain, or one not of princely rank, would be her most acceptable choice.

It is not to be doubted that Mary received such proposals with secret indignation; but, in her present circumstances, she was under a necessity of treating them with decency, and even of seeming to comply with Elizabeth's purpose. The inclination of her own subjects was another, and not the least considerable circumstance, which demanded Mary's attention at this conjuncture. They had been taught, by her former marriage, to dread a union with any great prince, whose power might be employed to oppress their religion and liberties; and they trembled at the thoughts of a foreign match. Mary, therefore, laid aside, at that time, all thoughts of such an alliance; and seemed willing to sacrifice her own ambition, in order to remove the jealousies of Elizabeth, and to quiet the fears of her own subjects.

A parliament, which met this year, having determined nothing with regard to religion, the resentment of the Protestant clergy was strongly excited. They pronounced the moderation of the courtiers, apostacy; and the people, inflamed by their vehement declamations, proceeded to acts of violence. During the queen's absence, on a progress in the West, mass continued to be celebrated in her chapel at Holyrood-house. The citizens of Edinburgh, offended at the multitude which openly resorted to that place of worship, and being free from the restraint which

*A tumult
at Edin-
burgh,*

the royal presence imposed, assembled in a riotous manner, interrupted the service, and filled all who were present with the utmost consternation. Two of the ring-leaders in this tumult were seized, and a day appointed for their trial. Knox, who approved of the zeal discovered by the citizens, considered them as sufferers in a good cause; and, in order to protect them from danger, he issued circular letters, requiring all who professed the true religion, or were interested in its preservation, to assemble at Edinburgh on the day of trial, that, by their presence, they might comfort and assist their distressed brethren. One of these letters fell into the queen's hands. To assemble the subjects without the authority of the sovereign was construed to be treason; and a resolution was taken to prosecute Knox, before the privy-council, for that crime. The judges being zealous Protestants, he was, after a long hearing, unanimously acquitted; a proof of the low condition to which the regal authority was then sunk ^P.

*Knox tried
and acquit-
ted.*

A.D. 1564. The marriage of the queen continued to be the object of attention and intrigue; and Elizabeth was at last obliged to break that unaccountable reserve which she had hitherto affected. Her favourite, lord Robert Dudley, afterwards earl of Leicester, was declared to be the happy man whom she had chosen to be the husband of a queen courted by so many princes. The high spirit of the Scottish queen could not well bear the first overture of a match with a subject. She disssembled, however, with the English resident; and though she declared, in strong terms, what a degradation she would deem such an alliance, she mentioned the earl of Leicester in terms full of respect. It was not Elizabeth's aim to persuade, but only to amuse Mary, who, though solicited by her subjects, and courted by the greatest princes in Europe, had hitherto been prevented from marrying, chiefly by the artifices of the queen of England. If, at this time, Elizabeth could have engaged Mary to listen to her proposal in favour of Leicester, her power over that nobleman would have enabled her to protract the negotiation at pleasure; and, by keeping her rival unmarried, she would have rendered the prospect of her succession less acceptable to the English. The allurements of an alliance with Mary, there is no doubt, made secretly a great impression

on the mind of Leicester; but, without offending Elizabeth, he durst not venture on the most distant discovery of his sentiments, or take any step towards facilitating such an acquisition.

The person towards whom Mary began to turn her thoughts, was lord Darnley, eldest son of the earl of Lenox, by lady Margaret Douglas, who was the daughter of Margaret, the eldest sister of Henry VIII. by the earl of Angus, whom that queen married after the death of her husband James IV. Lord Darnley was first presented to the queen at the castle of Weemyss, in Fife. He was at that time in the bloom and vigour of youth; graceful in his person, and endowed with all those accomplishments which are calculated to engage the affections. The impression which he made upon the queen was visible from the time of their first interview; and she determined to make him the partner of her bed and throne. As Darnley was so nearly related to the queen, the canon law made it necessary to obtain the pope's dispensation before the marriage could be celebrated; and, for this purpose, she set on foot a negotiation with the court of Rome.

A D. 1565.

Mary throws her eyes on lord Darnley.

Though the train of this marriage had been laid by Elizabeth, yet, when she was informed of the resolution of the Scottish queen, she affected the greatest surprize, and pretended to see many dangers and inconveniences arising from it to both kingdoms. She hoped, that Mary, intimidated by her displeasure, might delay her marriage; which Elizabeth, with a weakness that ill suited her dignity, had all along desired to obstruct. In the prosecution of her scheme, her privy-council drew up, against the proposed match, a remonstrance, full of the imaginary dangers with which that event threatened the kingdom; and, to signify her disapprobation in the strongest manner, she appointed, for that purpose, sir Nicholas Throgmorton her ambassador extraordinary.

Elizabeth declares against the queen's marriage with lord Darnley.

Sends Throgmorton to obstruct it.

The earl of Murray was the only person in the kingdom whose concurrence, in regard to the intended marriage, was of the greatest importance; but, from a personal dislike which Darnley had discovered towards him, he became averse to that alliance, and had even retired from the court, until, by the queen's invitation, he was induced to return. A convention of the nobles, however, which was assembled about this time, shewed a greater disposition to gratify the queen. Many of them she won by her address, and more by her promises. On some she bestowed lands, to others she gave new titles of honour.

A convention of the nobles approve of the marriage.

She

She even condescended to court the protestant clergy; and went so far as to express some desire to hear such of their preachers as were most remarkable for moderation.

While the queen was endeavouring, by her address, to conciliate her subjects to the intended marriage, Murray, and his party, were exerting all their influence to oppose it. They began with forming among themselves bonds of confederacy and mutual defence: they entered into a secret correspondence with the English resident, in order to secure Elizabeth's assistance when it should become needful; and they endeavoured to fill the nation with such apprehensions of danger, as might counterbalance the influence of those arts which the queen had employed.

*Schemes of
Darnley
and Mur-
ray against
each other.*

These intrigues were accompanied, on both sides, by dark designs of a more criminal nature. Darnley, impatient of the opposition which he received from Murray, formed a plot to assassinate him, during the meeting of the convention at Perth. Murray, on his part, despairing of being able to prevent the marriage by any other means, had, in concert with the duke of Chatelherault, and the earl of Argyre, contrived measures for seizing Darnley, and carrying him a prisoner into England. But both these plots were rendered abortive, by the vigilance, or good fortune, of those against whom they were formed.

The industry with which Murray opposed the marriage at last excited the resentment of the queen herself, and she resolved to let him feel the whole weight of her vengeance. For this purpose, she summoned him to appear before her upon a short warning, to answer to such things as should be laid to his charge. At this time, Murray, and the lords who adhered to him, were assembled at Stirling, to deliberate what measures they should pursue in so difficult a conjuncture. But the nation in general being strongly inclined to gratify the queen, in a matter which so nearly concerned her, the confederates, without coming to any other conclusion than to implore the protection of Elizabeth, put an end to their ineffectual consultations, and returned to their respective houses.

*July 29.
The queen
celebrates
her mar-
riage with
Darnley.*

Mary, perceiving the weakness of her enemies, and convinced likewise of the loyal attachment of her subjects, determined to bring to a period an affair which had so long occupied her attention. She, therefore, now married lord Darnley. The ceremony was performed in
the

the queen's chapel, according to the rites of the Romish church; the pope's bull, dispensing with their marriage, having been previously obtained. She issued, at the same time, proclamations, imprudently conferring upon her husband the title of king of Scots, and commanding that henceforth all writs at law should run in the joint names of the king and queen.

Even amidst the festivities accompanying the royal nuptials, Mary suffered no interruption of her vengeance against her malecontent lords. Three days after the marriage, Murray was again summoned to court, under the severest penalties; and, upon his non-appearance, he was declared an out-law.

The malecontents had not yet openly taken up arms; but finding themselves unable to oppose the numerous forces which Mary had assembled, they fled into Argyleshire, in expectation of aid from Elizabeth, to whom they had secretly dispatched a messenger, in order to implore her immediate assistance. Elizabeth, meanwhile, endeavoured to embarrass the queen of Scots, by a new declaration, expressing disgust at her conduct. She required Lenox and Darnley, whom she still called her subjects, to return into England; and she warmly interceded in behalf of Murray, whose behaviour she represented to be not only innocent, but laudable. The rudeness of this message was aggravated by the petulant behaviour of Tamworth, the person by whom it was delivered. Mary vindicated her own conduct with warmth, but with great force of argument; and rejected the application in behalf of Murray, not without expressions of resentment at Elizabeth's intermeddling in the affairs of her kingdom.

Murray, and his associates, now appeared openly in arms; and, having received a small supply of money from Elizabeth, were endeavouring to raise their followers in the western counties. But Mary's vigilance prevented them from assembling any considerable body. In order to encourage her troops, she herself marched with them, rode with loaded pistols, and endured all the fatigues of war with admirable fortitude. The malecontents, having artfully passed the queen's army, marched with great rapidity to Edinburgh, and endeavoured to raise the inhabitants of the city to arms; but the queen pursuing them, they were, on her approach, obliged to abandon that

q Burnet. Keith.

place,

place, and retire in confusion towards the western borders.

Mary wisely employed the interval in providing for the security of the interior counties. She seized the places of strength which belonged to the rebels; and obliged the considerable barons in those shires, which she most suspected, to join in associations for her defence. Having thus left all the country behind her in tranquillity, she, with an army eighteen thousand strong, marched to Dumfries, where the rebels then were. During their retreat, they had sent letters to the queen, from almost every place where they halted, full of submission, and containing various overtures towards an accommodation; but Mary rejected them with disdain. As she advanced, the malecontents retired; and, flying into England, put themselves under the protection of the earl of Bedford, warden of the marches.

*The male-
contents re-
tire into
England.*

*They are
neglected
by Eliza-
beth.*

Though Bedford, from his personal friendship for Murray, endeavoured all he could to render their retreat agreeable, Elizabeth herself treated them with extreme neglect. She had fully gained her end; and, by their means, had excited such divisions among the Scots, as would, in all probability, long distract and weaken Mary's councils. She now wished to save appearances, and to justify herself to the ministers of France and Spain, who complained of her fomenting the troubles in Scotland by her intrigues. The expedient she contrived for her vindication strongly marks her political character. Murray, and Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning, being appointed by the other fugitives to wait upon Elizabeth, instead of meeting with that welcome reception which was due to men, who, in confidence of her promises, had hazarded their lives and fortunes, could not even obtain the favour of an audience, until they had meanly consented to acknowledge, in the presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors, that Elizabeth had given them no encouragement to take arms. They had no sooner made the declaration required, than she astonished them with this reply, "You have declared the truth; I am far from setting an example of rebellion to my own subjects, by countenancing those who rebel against their lawful prince. The treason, of which you have been guilty, is detestable; and as traitors I banish you from my presence." Notwithstanding this scene of dissimulation and falsehood, Elizabeth permitted the malecontents peaceably to reside in her dominions,

minions, supplied them secretly with money, and renewed her intercession with the Scottish queen in their favour^r.

Mary, not satisfied with driving the rebels into exile, resolved to prevent so dangerous a party from recovering any footing in the nation. With this view, she assembled a parliament; and, in order that a sentence of forfeiture might be legally pronounced against the banished lords, she summoned them, by proclamation, to appear before it. The duke of Chatelherault, on his humble application, obtained a separate pardon; but he was obliged to leave the kingdom, and reside for some time in France.

The extraordinary charges of the government, with the disbursements occasioned by the queen's marriage, had exhausted a treasury which was far from being rich. In this situation, many expedients for raising money were devised. Fines were levied on the towns of St. Andrew's, Perth, and Dundee, which were suspected of favouring the malecontents. An unusual tax was imposed on the boroughs throughout the kingdom; and a great sum was demanded of the citizens of Edinburgh, by way of loan. This unprecedented exaction alarmed the citizens. They had recourse to delays, and started difficulties, in order to evade it. This behaviour Mary construed into avowed disobedience, and instantly committed several of them to prison. She was obliged to mortgage to the city the superiority of the town of Leith, by which she obtained a considerable sum of money; and the thirds of ecclesiastical benefices proved another source whence she derived some supply^s.

Mary herself, though highly incensed against the rebels, was not implacable; but the resentment of the king was unrelenting. They were solicited, from various quarters, in behalf of the fugitives. Morton, Ruthven, Maitland, and all who had been members of the Congregation, retained the impressions of friendship which had accompanied their former union with Murray and his followers; nor was Melvil, who possessed the queen's confidence, neglectful to second their solicitations. Murray had also condescended to court the favourite Rizio, who, being desirous of securing his protection against the king, whose displeasure he had lately incurred, seconded, with all his influence, the intercessions for obtaining the royal pardon. But the interposition of sir Nicholas Throgmor-

A.D. 1566.

Mary's deliberations concerning the extinct lords.

^r Melvil.

^s Keith.

ton, who had lately been Elizabeth's ambassador in Scotland, was of still greater weight in behalf of the exiles; Throgmorton, from an enmity to Cecil, espoused the cause of the Scottish queen, towards whose title and pretensions the other was known to bear little favour; and he ventured, in the present critical juncture, to write to Mary a letter, containing the most salutary advices with regard to her conduct. He recommended the pardoning of the earl of Murray, and his associates, as a measure no less prudent than popular. His remonstrances made a great impression upon Mary; and her courtiers, cultivating this favourable disposition, prevailed on her, notwithstanding the king's inflexible temper, to sacrifice her own private resentment to the intercession of her subjects, and the wishes of her friends.

*A fatal
alteration
in Mary's
sentiments.*

While the measure of pardoning the rebels was in this prosperous train, a new turn was given to affairs, by the arrival of two French agents, who were employed to engage the queen in a confederacy for extirpating the protestant doctrine. The prospect of restoring the public exercise of her own religion, the pleasure of complying with her uncles, and the hopes of gratifying the French king, whom the present situation of her affairs in England made it necessary to court, counterbalanced all the prudent considerations which had formerly weighed with her. She instantly joined the confederacy, which had been formed for the destruction of the Protestants, and altered the whole plan of her conduct, with regard to Murray and his adherents; a resolution to which may be imputed all the subsequent calamities of Mary's life.

Mary resolved, without any farther delay, to proceed to the attainder of the rebel lords, and, at the same time, determined to take some steps towards the re-establishment of the Romish religion in Scotland. The ruin of Murray and his party seemed now inevitable, and the danger of the Reformed Church imminent, when there unexpectedly happened an event, which prevented the execution of both those schemes.

*Darnley
loses the
queen's
affection.*

Darnley's external accomplishments had excited that sudden and violent passion which raised him to the throne; but the qualities of his mind were not such as could secure the esteem of his royal consort. His vanity prompted him to imagine that no honours were great enough to reward his merit. With a weak understanding, and without experience, he was proud, insolent, and suspicious. All the queen's favour made no impression upon his tem-

per ; and all her gentleness could not bridle his imperious and ungovernable spirit. Engaging himself in low amours, he gradually became careless of the queen's person, and a stranger to her company. His insolence kept pace with his neglect. Instead of being satisfied with a share in the administration of government, or with the title of king, which Mary, by an unprecedented stretch of power, had conferred upon him, he demanded the crown matrimonial with the most audacious importunity.

There was then in the court one David Rizio, the son of a musician at Turin, himself a musician, who finding it difficult to subsist by his art in his own country, had followed the ambassador from that court into Scotland. As he understood music to perfection, and had an excellent voice, he was introduced into the queen's concert ; and she was so taken with him, that she desired the ambassador, upon his departure, to leave Rizio behind. Though ill-favoured, and a disagreeable form, the queen retained him about her person. Her secretary for French dispatches having some time after fallen under her displeasure, she bestowed that office on Rizio, who being shrewd, sensible, and aspiring beyond his rank, began to entertain hopes of higher promotion in the state. He had engrossed to himself the chief management of affairs : he was consulted on all occasions, and no favour could be obtained but by his intercession. It was easy to persuade a man of Darnley's weak understanding, that the coldness of Mary's behaviour, though the consequence of his own ill conduct, was occasioned by the insinuations of Rizio. This suspicion, therefore, was industriously instilled into the king by Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, and Maitland, all intimate friends of Murray, and equally the enemies of the favourite. They formed the resolution of dispatching Rizio by violence, and the more to gratify their resentment, of even committing the murder in the presence of the queen. Mary was at this time in the sixth month of her pregnancy, and was then supping in private, at table with the countess of Argyle, her natural sister, some other servants, and her favourite Rizio. Lord Darnley led the way into the apartment by a private stair-case, and stood for some time leaning on the back of Mary's chair. His fierce looks and unexpected intrusion greatly alarmed the queen, who refrained, however, from calling out. A little after, lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and the other conspirators, rushed in, all armed, and betraying, by their ferocious looks, their detestable design. The queen, un-
able

March 9.
*Murder of
Rizio.*

able any longer to restrain her terrors, demanded the reason of this bold intrusion. She received no answer; but Ruthven ordered Rizio to quit a place of which he was unworthy. Rizio now perceived that he was the object of their vengeance, and trembling with apprehension, took hold of the queen's robes, who, on her part, endeavoured to interpose between him and the assassins. Douglas, in the mean time, had reached the unfortunate victim; and snatching a dagger from the king's side, while the queen filled the room with her cries, plunged it into Rizio's bosom. The conspirators then dragged him into the anti-chamber, and dispatched him with fifty-six wounds.

The conspirators confine the queen.

Meanwhile, the conspirators kept possession of the palace, and guarded the queen with the utmost care. A proclamation was published by the king, prohibiting the parliament to meet on the day appointed; and measures were taken by him for preventing any tumult in the city. Murray, Rothes, and their followers, being informed of the murder of Rizio, arrived at Edinburgh next evening. Murray was graciously received by the king and queen; by the former, on account of the articles which had been agreed upon between them; by the latter, because she hoped to prevail on him, by gentle treatment, not to take part with the murderers of Rizio.

She gains the king, and makes her escape.

The queen, sensible that this act of violence was only to be punished by temporizing, pretended to forgive the crime; and exerted the force of her natural allurements with so much success, that her husband submitted implicitly to her will. He soon gave up his accomplices to her resentment, and retired with her to Dunbar. Here the queen having collected an army, which the conspirators were unable to oppose, advanced to Edinburgh, and obliged them to fly into England, where they lived in great poverty and distress. They made application, however, to the earl of Bothwell, who had at this time an ascendancy in the council; and that nobleman, desirous to strengthen his party by the accession of their interest, at last procured them liberty to return home.

The conspirators against Rizio fly into England.

But the queen's resentment against Darnley was not so easily obliterated. His person was before become disagreeable to her; and after she had persuaded him to deliver up his accomplices, she treated him with merited reserve, if not with indignation. About this time, the earl of Bothwell, a nobleman of a considerable family, but of profligate manners, grew into great credit with the

the queen. His fidelity to the crown had discovered itself during the struggles of the Reformation; but what chiefly recommended him to Mary, was the support he had afforded her, against the murderers of David Rizio. Her gratitude loaded him with marks of her bounty, and she transacted no matter of importance without his advice. By assiduity, and a zealous attachment to the queen's service, he daily confirmed her favourable disposition towards him; and insensibly paved the way to that vast project, which his immoderate ambition had, perhaps, already conceived, and which, at the expence of many crimes, he at last accomplished.

Bothwell rises into favour.

On the 19th of June, Mary was delivered of her only son James. Melvil was instantly dispatched to London with the account of this event. It struck Elizabeth, at first, in a sensible manner; and the superiority which her rival had acquired by the birth of a son, forced tears from her eyes.

*June 19.
Birth of
James VI.*

The queen, on her recovery, discovered no change in her sentiments with respect to the king. The death of Rizio, and the countenance he had given to an action so insolent and unjustifiable, were still fresh in her memory. The breach between them became every day more apparent. The haughty spirit of Darnley, accustomed to flattery, could not bear the state of insignificance to which he saw himself now reduced; and he could never hope to form a party, which would second any attempt he might make to recover power. He addressed himself, therefore, to the pope, and to the kings of France and Spain, with many professions of his zeal for the Catholic religion, and with bitter complaints against the queen, for neglecting to promote that interest. He soon after took a resolution, equally wild and desperate, of embarking on board a ship which he provided, and of flying into foreign parts. He communicated the design to the French ambassador Le Croc, and to his father the earl of Lenox; who both endeavoured to dissuade him from it, but without success. Lenox, who now went seldom to court, instantly communicated the matter to the queen, by a letter. Darnley, who had refused to accompany the queen from Stirling to Edinburgh, was likewise absent from court; but arrived there on the same day she received the account of his intended flight. He was more than usually peevish, and scrupling to enter the palace, unless certain lords who attended the queen were dismissed, Mary was obliged to meet him without the gates. At last he suffered her to

The king resolves to leave Scotland.

T

conduct

conduct him into her own apartment. She endeavoured to draw from him the reasons of the strange resolution which he had taken, and to divert him from it; but he remained silent and inflexible. Next day the privy-council, by her direction, expostulated with him on the same head. He persisted in fullness and obstinacy. As he left the apartment, he turned towards the queen, and told her, that she should not see his face for a long time. A few days after, he wrote to Mary, and mentioned two things as grounds of his disgust. She herself, he said, no longer admitted him into any confidence, and had deprived him of all power; and the nobles, after her example, treated him with open neglect, so that he appeared in every place without the dignity and splendor of a king^t.

*The queen
marches to
the borders.*

Ever since the queen's marriage, the borderers of both kingdoms had been in a state of hostility; and complaints were daily passing between the two courts on that account. Upon Mary's replacing the earl of Bothwell in his lieutenancy, which he held under her mother, the laird of Cessford, warden of her middle marches, had declared himself Morton's friend. Buccleugh, one of the most powerful barons in those parts, had followed his example; and the Elliots had, in a manner, put themselves under the protection of the English wardens. The lord Maxwell was likewise Bothwell's declared enemy; and his insolent behaviour seemed to justify their opposition. Mary loved to appear in the field, and to act personally in a military as well as civil capacity. She valued herself upon imitating the most renowned of her predecessors; and she had always found it attended with singular advantages to her person and authority. The differences between her and her husband had endeared her to her people; and whatever private animosities were in the kingdom, her subjects, in general, were united in their attachment to her person. The open disrespect that had been shown to her lord-lieutenant by the associations of his enemies (among whom was the lord Hume) called for a vigorous assertion of her authority; and she resolved to hold justice-courts at Jedburgh, and other places near the borders, for bringing the delinquents to a public trial. While she was preparing for this progress, she ordered her lieutenant, the earl of Bothwell, to secure as many of them as possible. They had foreseen this, and were upon their guard. Bothwell

^t Knox.

depending

depending more upon his commission, than any armed force he had carried with him, marched into the province of Liddesdale, where lay their chief strength. Here he was attacked by one John Elliot of the Park, and so desperately wounded, that he was carried home to his own house at Hermitage.

Mary was then at Jedburgh, attended by her subjects in arms, according to proclamation. She knew that the association formed by her borderers was only against Bothwell; and that her presence alone could prevent any farther disagreeable consequences. The insurgents, as appears by a letter to Cecil from the earl of Bedford, had declared that they would live and die with Celsford, and withstand Bothwell, unless the queen came in person. Mary having no time to lose, immediately set out in person to visit Bothwell, and to obtain from him proper information; which having done, she returned the same day to Jedburgh, where she fell ill of a violent fever, but in a short time recovered.

*She visits
Bothwell,
who is
wounded.*

Amidst all her other cares, Mary was ever solicitous to promote the interest of that religion which she professed. The re-establishment of the Romish doctrine seems to have been her favourite passion; and though the design was concealed with care, and conducted with caution, she pursued it with a persevering zeal. At this time, she ventured to lay aside somewhat of her usual reserve. Having formerly held a secret correspondence with the court of Rome, she now resolved to allow a nuncio from the pope publicly to enter her dominions. Cardinal Laurea, at that time bishop of Mondovi; was the person on whom Pius V. conferred this office; and by him he sent the queen a present of twenty thousand crowns. While Mary was secretly carrying on these negotiations, she did not scruple publicly to employ her authority towards obtaining for the ministers of the Reformed Church a more certain and comfortable subsistence^u.

Mary's aversion to the king grew every day more confirmed, and seemed altogether incurable. A deep melancholy succeeded to that gaiety of spirit, which was natural to her. Murray and Maitland observed all those workings of passion in the breast of the queen, and conceived hopes of turning them to the advantage of their ancient associates, Morton, and the other conspirators against Rizio. They were still in banishment, and the

^u Keith.

*Proposals
of divorce
between
the king
and queen,*

*which the
queen re-
jects.*

queen's resentment against them continued unabated. Murray and the secretary flattered themselves, however, that her inclination to be separated from Darnley, would surmount this deep-rooted aversion, and that the hopes of an event so desirable might induce her to be reconciled to the conspirators. It was easy to find reasons in the king's behaviour on which to found a sentence of divorce, which, as well as the ratification of it in parliament, they had interest sufficient to obtain. In return for this service, they proposed to stipulate with the queen to grant a pardon to Morton and his followers. The design was first of all communicated to Argyle, who, as well as Murray, owed his return into Scotland to the conspiracy against Rizio. Huntley and Bothwell were likewise made partakers of the project. They all joined in making the overture to the queen, who was now at Graig-Millar. Mary objected to this proposal, because it might turn to the prejudice of her son. She seemed rather inclined to pass some time in France, until her husband should see his errors, and reform his conduct. Maitland assured her that they would find means to rid her of her husband, without doing her son any prejudice. The queen replied, "That she would consent to nothing that might bring a stain upon her honour or conscience. She therefore desired, that they would let the matter stand as it was, until it might be remedied by Providence:" "for," said she, "the service which you may intend me, may possibly turn to my hurt and prejudice." Maitland closed the conversation, by desiring the queen to leave the management of the matter to them, promising that all should terminate for the best, and be approved by parliament. The inference made by the earls of Huntley and Argyle from this conversation was, that Murray and Maitland were parties in the murder of the king, which happened soon after.

*Dec. 17.
The king's
capricious
behaviour
at the bap-
tism of the
prince.*

Great preparations had been made by Mary for the baptism of her son; and the magnificence displayed by her on this occasion, exceeded whatever had been formerly known in Scotland. The ceremony was performed according to the rites of the Romish church; but neither the earl of Bedford, who was ambassador from Elizabeth, nor any of the Scottish nobles, who professed the Protestant religion, entered within the gates of the chapel. Henry's behaviour, at this juncture, strongly marks the excess of his caprice, as well as of his folly. He chose to reside at Stirling, but confined himself to his own apartment;

ment; and as the queen distrusted every nobleman who ventured to converse with him, he was left in absolute solitude. Nothing could be more singular, or was less expected, than his choosing to appear in a manner that published the contempt under which he had fallen, and by exposing the queen's domestic unhappiness to the observation of so many foreigners, looked like a step taken on purpose to mortify and offend her. Mary felt this insult sensibly; and notwithstanding all her efforts to assume the gaiety which suited the occasion, and which was necessary for the polite reception of her guests, she was sometimes obliged to retire, in order to be at liberty to indulge her sorrow, and give vent to her tears. He still persisted in his design of retiring into foreign parts, and daily threatened to put it in execution.

Immediately upon the king's leaving Stirling, and before he could reach Glasgow, where his father resided, he was seized with a dangerous distemper. Mary, who had gone to Edinburgh with her young son, hearing of her husband's illness, followed him to Glasgow, where she attended him with so much tenderness, that it was publicly said, an entire reconciliation had taken place between them. According to archbishop Spotwood, his illness proceeded from poison, which, when we consider the character of Bothwell, is by no means improbable; but bishop Lesley says his distemper was venereal.

A.D. 1567.

The king falls sick at Glasgow.

Meanwhile, Bothwell, who preserved his ascendancy at court, had prevailed with Mary to pardon the earl of Morton, and his friends, whose activity in Rizio's murder encouraged him, with the greatest reason, to hope, that they would be equally useful in that which he was now meditating.

Mary having, for the convenience of physicians, and her own attendants, carried her husband to Edinburgh, he was lodged in a house which had formerly belonged to the superior of the church, called Kirk of Field, about the place where the university now stands. Its situation, on a rising ground, and at that time, in an open field, had all the advantages of healthful air to recommend it. Here Mary continued to attend the king with the most assiduous care. She seldom was absent from him through the day; and she slept several nights in the chamber under his apartment. On the 9th of February, she attended him until eleven at night, when she left him that she

Mary brings her husband to Edinburgh,

where he is murdered.
Feb. 9.

• Melvil, Keith.

T 3

might

might be present at a masked ball, given at her palace on account of the marriage of one of her domestics. At two o'clock next morning, the house in which the king lay, was blown up with gun-powder. The noise and shock, which this sudden explosion occasioned, alarmed the whole city; and the inhabitants ran to the place whence it came. The dead body of the king, with that of a servant who slept in the same room, were found lying in an adjacent garden, without the city wall, untouched by fire, and with no bruise or mark of violence. No doubt could be entertained but Darnley was murdered; and the general suspicion fell upon Bothwell as the perpetrator; while the voice of malignity insinuated that the queen herself was not entirely innocent of the crime.

Bothwell was not only suspected, but named as the murderer. Papers were affixed to the most public parts of the city, accusing him of that barbarous action, and mentioning his accomplices. The persons there named, beside Bothwell, were Mr. James Balfour, the clergyman of Fife, Mr. David Chalmers, and black Mr. John Spence. But, from farther enquiry, there is the strongest reason to conclude, that, whoever were the actual perpetrators of the murder, Murray, Morton, and Maitland, were concerned with Bothwell in the plot. These men, having great authority, were enabled to encounter and surmount every consequence and danger that might threaten them. They had previously been courting the nobles, and arming themselves with influence. The earl of Huntley, the lord high-chancellor, was the particular friend of Bothwell, who had married his sister. The earl of Argyle, the chief justiciary, was in a strict intimacy with Murray. Bothwell himself was minister of state. They could command the privy-council, and put in motion all the departments of government. The queen could perceive no sufficient reason to suspend her confidence of them, was not prone to suspicion, and was immersed in sadness.

*Different
views of
Bothwell
and Mur-
ray.*

But while the power of the conspirators was to be employed in all its extent to their mutual protection, the ultimate views of Bothwell and Murray, the leading actors, were altogether opposite. Bothwell, now that the king was removed, conceived that his principal business was achieved, and that he must soon make a conquest of the queen. Murray, who was not less ambitious, was more intriguing and profound; and while in conjunction with his associates, Morton and Lethington, he gave his public

lic

lic influence to Bothwell, he was acting secretly to his own advantage, and advancing securely to the ruin of that nobleman, and to the humiliation of the queen.

The orders of Mary for discovering the conspirators, were most express and peremptory. From the circumstance that the murder was committed only a few hours after she had left the king, she was induced to believe, that the enterprize had been intended against herself as well as him. A letter she received from archbishop Beaton, her ambassador at Paris, containing confused intimations of plots against her person, and entreating her to be upon her guard, confirmed her in this opinion. But as Bothwell had taken to himself the charge of the active part of the murder, it is reasonable to conclude, that nothing could be farther from his thoughts than to involve her in the fate of her husband.

Attempts made to discover the conspirators.

Two days after the murder, a strong proclamation was issued by the privy-council, assuring the people, that the queen and nobility would leave nothing undone to discover the murderers of the king. They offered the sum of two thousand pounds, and an annuity for life, to any person who should give information of the devisers, counsellors, and perpetrators of the murder; and it held out this reward, with the grant of a full pardon to the conspirator who should make a free confession of his own guilt and that of his confederates.

In this difficult period, the earl of Murray conducted himself with his usual circumspection and artifice. Upon a pretence that his wife was dangerously sick at his castle in Fife, he, the day before the murder, obtained the queen's permission to pay a visit to her; by which means he proposed to prevent all suspicion of his guilt. He was so full, however, of the intended project, that while he was proceeding on his journey he observed to the person who accompanied him, "This night, before morning, the lord Darnley shall lose his life." When the blow was struck, he returned to Edinburgh to carry on his practices.

Among foreign nations, the domestic disputes of the queen and her husband being fully known, it was with the greater ease that reports could be propagated to her disadvantage. To France were dispatched letters, expressing in strong terms her participation in the murder. In England, the ministers and courtiers of Elizabeth could

not flatter that princeſs more agreeably, than by detracting from the honour and the virtue of the Scottiſh queen. Within her own dominions a ſimilar ſpirit of ſlander exerted itſelf, and not without ſucceſs. As her reconciliation with her huſband could not be unknown to her own ſubjects, it was interpreted to be diſſimulation and treachery. The Proteſtant clergy, who were her determined enemies, poſſeſſed great influence among the people; and they were the friends and partizans of the earl of Murray.

It was not unknown to the queen that her enemies were buſy with a malicious aſſiduity to deſame her; and from the conſciouſneſs of her own innocence, and from the calumny, that ſhe had been a party with Bothwell, ſhe was the leſs diſpoſed to ſuſpect that nobleman. Amidſt the ſuſpicions entertained at this period, reports alſo prevailed to the prejudice of Murray, Morton, and Lethington; and they paſſed with credit into England.

Bothwell was earneſt in his proteſtations of innocence; and he even expreſſed his wiſh for a trial. No facts pointed to his guilt; there had appeared no accuſer but the earl of Lenox; and no witneſſes had been found who could eſtabliſh his criminality. Her privy-council ſeemed to her to be firmly perſuaded that he was ſuffering under the malice of defamation. Murray, Morton, and Lethington, whatever might be their private machinations, were publicly his moſt ſtrenuous defenders; and they conſtrued the behaviour of the earl of Lenox to be the effect of hatred and jealousy againſt a nobleman, who had outrun him ſo far in the career of ambition. It conſiſted with the knowledge of the queen that Lenox was jealous, vindictive, and impetuous; and it was not impoſſible but that the placards and papers which had drawn ſo much notice, were the work of his emiſſaries. A ſettled conviction having taken poſſeſſion of her mind, that the plot againſt the king was alſo deſigned againſt herſelf, ſhe could not poſſibly reconcile an intention ſo criminal to her, with the uniform fidelity, and the reſpectful conduct of the earl of Bothwell.

But though all the arts of Murray and Bothwell, Morton and Lethington, were induſtriouſly exerted to miſlead the queen, they were not able to withhold her from adopting ſuch meaſures as were the moſt proper and the moſt honourable to her. It was her own ardent deſire that the regicides ſhould be puniſhed; ſhe had given her ſolemn promiſe to the earl of Lenox that the perſons
whom

whom he suspected should be prosecuted ; and amidst all the appearances in the favour of Bothwell, and all the influence employed to serve him, it deserves to be regarded as a striking proof of her honour, vigour, and ability, that she could accomplish this measure. An order of the privy-council was accordingly issued, directing that the earl of Bothwell, and all the persons named by Lenox, should be brought to a public trial for the murder of the king. The day of the trial was appointed ; and a general invitation was given to all persons to prefer their accusations. The earl of Lenox was formally cited to do himself justice by appearing in the high court of justiciary, and to make known the guilt of the persons accused.

A day is appointed for the trial of Bothwell.

Meanwhile, it was proper to repress that spirit of outrage that had manifested itself against the queen. No discoveries, however, were made, except against James Murray, brother to sir William Murray of Tullibardin, who at different times had published placards injurious to her. He was charged to appear before the privy-council ; but refusing to obey its citation, it was made a capital offence for any commander of a vessel to convey him out of the kingdom ; and a resolution was taken to punish him with an exemplary severity ; but he made his escape.

A check is given to the calumnies against the queen.

As the day for the trial of Bothwell approached, the conspirators, notwithstanding their power, were not without apprehensions. Among other expedients to ward off an enquiry, they endeavoured to intimidate the earl of Lenox. They insinuated into his weak mind suspicions of the queen's guilt, and the dangers to which he might be exposed by insisting on the trial. He was sensible of her aversion to him ; and his friends concurred with his enemies to dissuade him from the prosecution, from a belief that his situation was critical. By the time he had reached Stirling, on his way to Edinburgh, his fears predominated, and he stopped on his journey. He affected sickness, and affirmed that he had not time to prepare for the trial, which he requested might be put off to a more distant day. Such an application, upon the night immediately preceding the day appointed for the trial, and reciting reasons of no conclusive force, could not with propriety be attended to. The privy-council refused the demand of the earl of Lenox. The court of justiciary was assembled. The earl of Argyle acted in his character of lord high-justicier ; and was aided by four assessors. The indictment was read, and the earls of Bothwell and Lenox were called upon ; one as the accuser, and the other as the

The earl of Lenox afraid to insist on the trial

*April 12.
Trial of
Bothwell.*

the defender. Bothwell, who had come to the court with an attendance of his vassals, and a band of mercenary foldiers, did not fail to present himself; but Lenox appeared only by his servant Robert Cunningham, who repeated Lenox's former demand, that a new day should be appointed for the trial; and protested, that if the jury should now enter upon the business, they should incur the guilt of a wilful error, and their verdict be of no validity.

He is acquitted.

This remonstrance and protestation appeared not to the court of sufficient importance to interrupt the trial, and they paid a greater respect to the earl of Lenox's letters to the queen, insisting upon an immediate prosecution. The jury, which consisted of men of rank and condition, after considering and reasoning upon the indictment for a considerable time, were unanimous in acquitting Bothwell of all share and knowledge of the king's murder*. It has justly been remarked, as indecent and suspicious, that Bothwell should have been accompanied to the court of justice by soldiers in arms; that during the trial, the earl of Morton stood by his side to give him countenance, and to assist him; and that the four assessors to the chief justice were strenuous friends to the earl of Murray.

Even Bothwell himself did not rely on the judgment which he had obtained in his favour, as a full vindication of his innocence. Immediately after his acquittal, he, in compliance with a custom which was not then obsolete, published a writing, in which he offered to fight, in single combat, any gentleman of good fame, who should presume to accuse him of being accessory to the murder of the king.

History of the famous bond, in which the marriage of Bothwell and the queen is proposed

Upon the rising of the parliament, which assembled after the trial, there passed a scene which places not only Bothwell, but the chief of the Scottish nobility, in a most odious light. Bothwell, notwithstanding his acquittal, was doubtless conscious of his guilt; and apprehensive that facts might be discovered, which would bring him to the punishment he deserved, the managers of his trial, his judges, and some of his jury, had reason to dread the consequences of their being confederated with him, if he was not supported to the utmost extent of his ambition. To have destroyed Bothwell, without ruining Mary at the same time, could not have answered their purpose; and no method could be so effectual for that, as

* Keith, Anderson.

by persuading her to marry him. The truth is, the high favour in which he stood, being then great admiral of Scotland, and lieutenant of all the marches, and having lately obtained a grant of the castle of Dunbar, and several large estates and honours, gave them no reason to think that she would be violently averse to this proposal, provided she were furnished with a decent pretext to comply with it; and in this her conduct was unguarded. Bothwell therefore drew up a bond, in which the subscribing parties fully assert his innocence, and promise to support him with their friends and followers, against all who should reproach or defame him. They likewise bind themselves to promote, with all their interest, a marriage between the queen and him, and to look upon all who should oppose it as their common enemies.

On the 19th of April, the day on which the parliament was dissolved, Bothwell invited the chief of the nobility and prelates to an entertainment, where he produced the bond abovementioned, and which they either signed or promised to sign. The bond was actually subscribed by upwards of twenty. *It is subscribed.*

The part which Mary acted after Bothwell had obtained this bond, is the least defensible, as well as the most fatal step of her conduct throughout her unfortunate life. *Misconduct of Mary.* It receives, however, strong alleviation, that she believed the bond to contain the real sentiments of the subscribers, and that Bothwell was the only man in the world whom she could entrust with her own and her infant son's safety.

The earl of Murray, in the mean time, that he might appear to have no concern in the present intrigues, had asked permission of the queen to go to France; and taking his way through England, he neglected not to pay his court to Elizabeth. All the reports which had arisen to the discredit of Mary, were confirmed by him; and he now circulated the intelligence, that she was soon to take in marriage the earl of Bothwell. As this rumour preceded the subscription of the bond by the nobility recommending the measure, it was intended to fix the greater reproach upon the queen, and to give strength to all the wild suspicions which had previously gone abroad to her disadvantage. Her partizans in England were greatly alarmed, and repeated remonstrances were dispatched to Scotland upon the subject of a design, in every respect so exceptionable. Elizabeth herself, while her ministers were artfully spreading the most cruel reproaches and calumnies against the queen of Scots, in a letter which she *Murray pays a visit to Elizabeth in his way to France.*

she wrote to her, affected to caution her upon a point so delicate, and entreated, that she would not afford so mischievous a handle to the artifices of her enemies.

*Bothwell
conveys the
queen to
Dunbar.*

Mary, upon the dissolution of parliament, had gone to Stirling to visit the young prince. Bothwell, armed with the bond of the nobles, assembled a thousand horse, under the pretence of protecting the borders, of which he was the warden; and meeting her upon her return to her capital, dismissed her attendants, and carried her to his castle of Dunbar. To prevent interruption and bloodshed, and with a view to stop enquiry for a time, he had ordered his officers to inform sir James Melvil, and the gentlemen of her retinue, that what he did was in obedience to her command.

Bothwell could not help distrusting all the methods which had hitherto been used, for vindicating him from any concern in the murder of the king. Something was still wanting for his security, and for quieting his guilty fears. This was a pardon under the great seal. By the laws of Scotland, the most heinous crime must be mentioned by name in a pardon, and then all less offences are deemed to be included under the general clause, "and all other crimes whatsoever." To seize the person of the prince is high treason; and Bothwell hoped that a pardon obtained for this, would extend to every thing of which he had been accused.

*April 29.
He is dis-
worced
from his
wife.*

Bothwell having now got the queen's person into his hands, it would have been unbecoming either a politician or a man of gallantry to have delayed consummating his schemes. For this purpose he instantly commenced a suit, in order to obtain a sentence of divorce from his wife lady Jane Gordon, sister to the earl of Huntley. This process was carried on, at the same time, before protestant and popish judges; before the former, in the court of commissaries; and before the latter, in the spiritual court of the archbishop of St. Andrew's, whose jurisdiction the queen had lately restored. The pretexts he pleaded were trivial, or scandalous; but his authority had greater weight than the justice of his cause; and in both courts sentence of divorce was pronounced with the same indecent precipitancy^a.

*He brings
Mary
back to
Edinburgh,
and re-
ceives her
pardon.*

During the progress of this transaction, the queen resided at Dunbar, detained as a prisoner, but treated with the greatest respect. In a few days after, Bothwell, with a

^a Keith. Anderson.

numerous train of his dependents, conducted her to Edinburgh; but instead of lodging her in the palace of Holyrood-house, he conveyed her to the castle, of which he was governor.

To give satisfaction, however, to the people, and to convince them that she was no longer a prisoner, a public declaration upon her part seemed to be a measure of expediency. She presented herself, therefore, in the court of session; the lord chancellor and president, the judges, and other persons of distinction, being present. After observing that some stop had been put to the administration of justice upon account of her being detained at Dunbar against her will by the lord Bothwell, she declared, that, though she had been highly offended with the outrage offered to her, she was yet inclined to forget it. His respectful behaviour, the sense she entertained of his past services to the state, and the hope with which she was impressed of his zeal and activity in future, compelled her to give him and his accomplices in her imprisonment, a full pardon. She, at the same time, desired them to take notice, that she was now at her liberty; and that she proposed, in consideration of his merits, to take an early opportunity to promote him to distinguished honours.

It was understood that the queen was immediately to advance him to be her husband. An order was issued for the proclamation of the banns; and Mr. John Craig, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, was desired to perform this ceremony. Though the order was subscribed by the queen, he refused his compliance, unless he were authorized by the church. After long reasonings with his brethren, they granted him permission to discharge this duty. His scruples and delicacy, however, were not yet removed. He protested, that in obeying their desire, he should be allowed to speak his own sentiments concerning the marriage; and that his publishing the banns should infer no obligation in him to officiate in the solemnity. Accordingly, in his congregation, before a crowded audience, and in the presence of several noblemen and privy-counsellors, he declared that the marriage of the queen and the earl of Bothwell was unlawful, and that he was prepared to give his reasons for this opinion to the parties themselves. He added, that if this liberty was denied him, he would either abstain altogether from proclaiming the banns, or take the liberty, after proclaiming them, to inform his people of the causes of his disapprobation of the marriage. He was carried before the lords of the privy-council; and the

Proclamation of the banns of marriage between the queen and Bothwell.

the earl of Bothwell called upon him to explain his behaviour. In justifying his conduct, he mentioned the precipitate divorce of Bothwell from his wife, by collusion of both parties; his sudden contract with the queen after that divorce; and the shame that would attend her marrying a man who stood in the light of her ravisher, and was suspected of being the murderer of her husband. He concluded with an advice to the members of the council, that they would endeavour to dissuade her majesty from so infamous an union. His reasons and exhortations not having the desired effect, he carried them to the pulpit, until at last, he was enjoined silence by authority. The ceremony of the marriage was performed in public, according to the rites of the protestant church, by the bishop of Orkney, and, on the same day, was celebrated in private, according to the forms prescribed by the popish religion^a.

The marriage.

Bothwell received the title of duke of Orkney, that of king being the only distinction which was not conferred upon him. Mary, notwithstanding her attachment to him, remembered the inconveniencies which had arisen from the rash advancement of her former husband to that honour. She agreed, however, that he should sign, in token of consent, all the public writs issued in her name. But this was nothing more than form; for he possessed all the reality of power.

Machinations of the earl of Murray and his party.

The earl of Murray, after visiting the English court, proceeded to France, where he assiduously spread all the reports which were most injurious to the queen's reputation, and maintained a close correspondence with his friends Morton and Lethington. These zealous associates, true to his ambition and their own, had promoted all the schemes of Bothwell upon the queen with a power and influence which had insured their success. When the end however was accomplished, in forwarding which they had so much laboured, and when the marriage of the queen was actually celebrated, they now thought it a proper time to throw off the mask of friendship. The murder of the king, the guilt of Bothwell, his acquittal, his divorce, and his marriage, became the topics of their declamation. Upon the foundation of this hated marriage, they even ventured privately to infer, that the queen was accessory to all his iniquitous transactions. By the intrigues, therefore, of these men, who were actuated by motives of ambition, several of the principal nobility joined them in

^a Keith. Anderson.

an association, to punish the murderers of the king, and to protect the person of the prince. A convention, accordingly was appointed at Stirling, for the purpose of concerting the measures which it was most expedient to pursue. After mutually animating their zeal, and pledging their fidelity, they agreed to take an early opportunity of appearing in the field, and, in the mean time, they separated in order to collect their retainers.

The first accounts of this league filled the queen and Bothwell with great consternation. Mary, that she might prepare for the storm, issued a proclamation, requiring her subjects to take arms, and to attend her husband by a day appointed. At the same time, she published a sort of manifesto, in which she vindicated her government from the imputations with which it had been loaded, and expressed in the strongest terms her concern for the safety and welfare of the prince her son. Her proclamation, however, was ill obeyed, and her manifesto met with little credit.

28th May.
Proclamation of the queen.

The confederate lords carried on their preparations with no less activity than success, and were ready to march before the queen and Bothwell were in a condition to resist them. The castle of Edinburgh was the place whither the queen ought naturally to have retired; but the fidelity of the deputy governor had been staggered by the practices of the confederates, and Bothwell durst not commit to him so important a trust. He conducted the queen to the castle of Borthwick, whence, on the appearance of lord Hume, with a body of his followers, before that place, he fled, with precipitation to Dunbar, and was followed by the queen disguised in men's cloaths.

The confederates then proceeded to Edinburgh, where they were joined by many of the citizens, whose zeal became the firmest support of their cause. To set their conduct in the most favourable light, and to rouse the public indignation against Bothwell, they published a declaration of the motives which had induced them to take arms. All Bothwell's past crimes were enumerated, all his wicked intentions displayed and aggravated, and every true Scotman was called upon to join the confederates.

Meanwhile, Bothwell was not inactive at Dunbar; and the queen's proclamations had brought many of her vassals to her assistance. She soon mustered a force of four thousand combatants, and with these determined to march to the capital. When she reached Gladsmoor, she ordered a manifesto to be read to her army, and to be circulated among her subjects. By this paper, she replied to the

The royal army marches against the confederates.

proclamations of the confederated nobles, whom she charged with treachery and rebellion. She treated their reasons of hostility as mere pretences, and as inventions which could not bear to be examined. In respect of the king's murder, she protested that she herself was fully determined to revenge it, if she should be so fortunate as to discover the perpetrators ^b.

On the first intelligence of her approach, the confederates advanced to meet her. They found her forces drawn up on the same ground which the English had occupied before the battle of Pinkie. The numbers on both sides were nearly equal; but there was no equality in point of discipline; the queen's army consisting chiefly of a multitude hastily assembled, without courage or experience in war.

Du Croc, the French ambassador, who was in the field, laboured, by negotiating both with the queen and the nobles, to put an end to the quarrel, without the effusion of blood; but he soon found, that the passions of the confederates were too high to allow them to listen to any pacific propositions, or to think of retreating after having proceeded so far.

The confederates advanced to attack the queen's army, which was posted to advantage on a rising ground. Her troops were alarmed at their approach, and discovered no inclination to fight. Mary endeavoured to animate them; she wept, she threatened, she reproached them with cowardice, but all in vain. A few of Bothwell's immediate attendants were eager for the encounter; the rest stood irresolute, and some began to steal out of the field. Bothwell attempted to inspirit them, by offering to decide the quarrel, and to vindicate his own innocence in single combat with any of his adversaries. Kirkaldy of Grange, Murray of Tullibardin, and lord Lindsay contended for the honour of entering the lists against him. But this challenge proved to be a mere bravado. Either the consciousness of guilt deprived Bothwell of his wonted courage, or the queen, by her authority, forbade the combat.

The situation of Mary was such, that she could neither hazard a battle, nor retreat, and she was therefore under the cruel necessity of putting herself into the hands of those subjects who had taken arms against her. She demanded an interview with Kirkaldy, a brave and generous man,

^b Keith. Anderson. - -

who commanded an advanced body of the enemy. He, with the consent, and in the name of the leaders of the party, promised that, on condition she would dismiss Bothwell from her presence, and govern the kingdom by the advice of her nobles, they would honour and obey her as their sovereign.

During the parley, Bothwell took his last farewell of the queen, and rode off the field with a few followers. He had no sooner retired, than Mary surrendered to Kirkaldy, who conducted her towards the confederate army, the leaders of which received her with great respect; and Morton, in their name, made ample professions of their future loyalty and obedience. But she was treated by the common soldiers with the utmost insolence and indignity. As she marched along, they poured upon her all the opprobrious names, which are bestowed only on the lowest and most infamous criminals. Wherever she turned her eyes, they held up before her a standard, on which was painted the dead body of the late king, stretched on the ground, with the young prince kneeling before it, and uttering these words, "Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord!" Mary turned with horror from so shocking a sight. She uttered the most bitter complaints, she melted into tears, and could scarce be kept from sinking to the ground. The confederates carried her towards Edinburgh, the streets of which were covered with multitudes, whom zeal or curiosity had assembled, to behold so unusual a scene. The queen, worn out with fatigue, covered with dust, and bedewed with tears, was exposed as a spectacle to her own subjects, and led to the provost's house. Notwithstanding all her arguments and entreaties, the same standard was carried before her, and the same insults and reproaches repeated.

The confederate lords had proceeded to such extremities against their sovereign, that it now became almost impossible for them to pursue a course less violent. Many of the nobles had refused to concur with them in their enterprize; others openly condemned it. A small circumstance might abate the indignation with which the multitude was at present animated against the queen, and deprive them of that popular applause which was the chief foundation of their power. These considerations inclined some of them to treat the queen with great lenity. But, on the other hand, they were apprehensive, that if they should allow her to recover the supreme power, the first exertion of it would be to recall Bothwell; and they had

U

reason,

The queen is imprisoned in Lochleven. reason, from his resentment, to expect the severest effects of the queen's vengeance. These considerations surmounted every other motive; and therefore, without regarding the duty which they owed to Mary as their queen, and without consulting the rest of the nobles, they carried her next evening, under a strong guard, to the castle of Lochleven, and signed a warrant to William Douglas, the owner of it, to detain her as a prisoner*. This castle is situated in a small island, in the middle of a lake; and here, under strict custody, with a few attendants, and subjected to the insults of a haughty woman, Murray's mother, who boasted daily of being the lawful wife of James V. Mary suffered all the rigour and miseries of captivity.

The confederated lords assume regal power.

A party forms itself in behalf of the queen.

Immediately after the queen's imprisonment, the lords were at the utmost pains to strengthen their party. They entered into new bonds of association; they assumed the title of "Lords of the Secret Council," and without any other right, arrogated to themselves the whole regal authority. In a little time, the excessive outrage of their conduct gave an alarm to the nation. They had proceeded to extremities which could not be justified; and men perceived not where their violence was to terminate. Even among the confederates themselves, discontents soon arose; and the earl of Argyle, and lord Boyd, withdrew from their councils. There were many of the nobility who had never joined them; and those considered themselves as insulted by their exercise of authority. It appeared, that if no check was applied to them, the constitution and government would be utterly overturned. They had imprisoned the queen without any regular accusation of criminality, without calling her to a trial, and without consulting the three estates; and even in their behaviour to Bothwell, there were circumstances extremely suspicious, and most unfavourable to them. The earls of Argyle, Huntley, Rothes, Crawford, Caithness, and Monteith, the lords Boyd, Fleming, Drummond, Cathcart, Herries, Yester, Livingston, Seaton, Glamis, Ogilvie, Gray, Oliphant, Methven, and Somerville, with the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and several commendators, held meetings at Hamilton to deliberate upon the state of their country, and to think of a remedy for its troubles.

A league so respectable from the rank of its members, and so formidable by their power, gave inquietude to the

lords of the secret council ; who sent letters to them, inviting them to accede to a conference upon public affairs. Their messenger, however, was treated with disrespect, and their letters returned unopened. But though all attempts to a coalition proved ineffectual, the party which had met at Hamilton soon lost reputation by the want of unanimity and vigour. All its consultations evaporated in murmurs and complaints, and no scheme was concerted for obstructing the progress of the confederates.

The court of France, upon the first intelligence of the imprisonment of the queen, dispatched monsieur de Ville-roy to condole with her upon her misfortunes, and to consult upon the most proper methods for her relief. This envoy, accordingly, upon his arrival, desired to pay his honours to the queen ; but the lords of the secret council refusing him an order of admittance to her prison, he was obliged to return to his own country without having an audience. The earl of Murray, however, being at this time in France, Charles IX. urged him in the strongest terms to employ his good offices in favour of the queen. In answer to this application, he engaged to exert all his own power, and all the influence of his friends, to deliver her from her misfortunes.

The court of France interferes in the affairs of Scotland.

The earl of Murray engages himself to the king of France to assist the queen.

Upon the part of the queen of England there arrived sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who had instructions both with regard to Mary herself, and the lords of the secret council. Elizabeth was far from being displeased to see the affairs of Scotland embroiled, or a rival, whom she hated, reduced to distress ; but she wished not that it should be in the power of one faction entirely to suppress the other. Her politics, as usual, were prudent and crafty ; and while she affected the utmost sympathy in the misfortunes of Mary, she was fomenting in secret the divisions of her kingdom. In her instructions to Throgmorton, her ambassador, she expresses the warmest solicitude for Mary's liberty, and even for her reputation. But neither Elizabeth's professions, nor Throgmorton's zeal, were of much advantage to the Scottish queen. The confederates foresaw, that Mary, if elated with the prospect of protection, would reject with scorn the overtures which they were about to make her ; and for that reason they peremptorily denied Throgmorton access to their prisoner.

Queen Elizabeth takes a concern in her affairs.

Her ambassador is denied admittance to Mary.

After various deliberations and intrigues, the earl of Morton and his faction prepared to effectuate the point which they had meditated so long. Their scheme was, that Mary should be persuaded to resign the crown ; that

The confederates oblige the queen to resign the government.

the young prince should be proclaimed king, and the earl of Murray should be appointed to govern the kingdom during his minority, with the name and authority of regent. With regard to the queen's own person, nothing was determined. It seems to have been the intention of the confederates, to keep her in perpetual imprisonment; but in order to intimidate herself, and overawe her partizans, they reserved to themselves the power of proceeding to more violent measures. They employed lord Lindsay, the fiercest zealot in the party, to communicate their scheme to the queen, and to obtain her subscription to those papers which were necessary for rendering it effectual. He executed his commission with harshness and brutality, while Mary, in complying with the demand, was bathed in tears. By one of those papers, she resigned the crown, renounced all share in the government of the kingdom, and consented to the coronation of the young king. By another, she appointed the earl of Murray regent; and by a third, she substituted some other nobleman in Murray's place, if he should refuse the honour intended him^d.

J A M E S VI.

*James VI.
crowned,
and Mur-
ray chosen
regent.*

THE confederates endeavoured to give this resignation all the weight and validity in their power, by proceeding without delay to crown the young prince. The ceremony was performed at Stirling on the 29th of July; about which time the earl of Murray returned, and added strength to the new government.

Before the earl declared his final resolution of accepting that honour, to which he had long been secretly aspiring, he waited on Mary at Lochleven. He was desirous of being invited by herself to accept the regency; and while he wished for this favour, he was resolved at the same time to lay the foundation of an irreconcilable rupture between them. The queen, unsuspecting of the deepness of his designs, conscious of the gratitude he owed to her, and trusting to his natural affection, was in haste to pour forth her soul before him, in a flood of tears, complaints, and lamentations. Her distress, however, awakened not his tenderness. He upbraided her with the keenest reproaches; represented it as a matter of difficulty to preserve her life; but ever to set her at liberty would be impossible. The queen starting from her seat, took him

in her arms, and kissing him as her deliverer from the scaffold, entreated his immediate acceptance of the regency. He at last gave way to her anxiety and solicitations; and having thus obtained his purpose, concluded an interview, which, for the extreme roughness of his behaviour, and the brutal petulance with which he insulted a queen and a sister in her distress, must throw an indelible stain on his humanity.

Amidst so many great and unexpected events, the fate of Bothwell, the chief cause of them all, has been almost forgotten. After his flight from the confederates, he lurked for some time among his vassals in the neighbourhood of Dunbar; but finding it impossible to remain there in safety, he fled for shelter to his kinsman, the bishop of Murray; and when the latter, overawed by the confederates, was obliged to abandon him, he retired to the Orkney isles. Here his indigence forced him upon a course which added to his infamy. He armed a few small ships, which had accompanied him from Dunbar, and attacking every vessel which fell in his way, endeavoured to procure subsistence for himself and followers by piracy. Kirkaldy and Murray of Tullibardin were sent out against him by the confederates; and surprising him while he rode at anchor, scattered his small fleet, took a part of it, and obliged him to fly with a single ship towards Norway. On that coast he fell in with a vessel richly laden, and immediately attacked it. The Norwegians sailed with armed boats to its assistance, and after a desperate fight, Bothwell and all his crew were made prisoners. His name and quality were both unknown, and he was treated at first with all the indignity and rigour which the odious crime of piracy merited. His real character was soon discovered; and though it saved him from the infamous death to which his associates were condemned, it could neither procure him liberty, nor mitigate the hardships of his imprisonment. In this unhappy condition, he languished ten years. Melancholy and despair deprived him of reason, and at last he ended his days, unpitied by his countrymen, and unassisted by strangers.

*Fate of
Bothwell.*

Notwithstanding the universal submission to the regent's authority, there still remained in the kingdom a spirit of discontent and cabal. The partizans of the house of Hamilton considered Murray's promotion an injury to the duke of Chatelherault, who, as first prince of the blood, had, in their opinion, an undoubted right to be regent. The rigour and duration of Mary's sufferings began to

A.D. 1568.

*Affairs
take a turn
in favour
of the
queen.*

move many to commiserate her case. Murray's deportment towards his equals, especially after his elevation to the regency, was distant and haughty. The unpopularity of his behaviour gave encouragement to the queen's adherents, who again began to unite, and were secretly favoured by some that had hitherto zealously concurred with the confederates.

*She makes
her escape
from her
confinement.*

Such was the favourable disposition of the nation towards the queen, when she recovered her liberty in a manner that had little been expected.

No account is transmitted respecting the particular manner in which Mary spent her time at Lochleven; but there is reason to believe that her confinement was not so rigorous as her enemies intended; and that her address and dissimulation procured her friends. She certainly gave a very favourable character of Douglas, the master of her prison-house; and intimated to the regent himself, that she would not be displeased if George Douglas, his uterine brother, and full brother to her keeper, should make his addresses to her for marriage. Though the regent, as he could be no stranger to the motives of this intimation, treated it with disdain; yet the young gentleman entered zealously into Mary's interest, and was the vehicle of a correspondence between her and her friends at Seton and Hamilton. The regent suspecting this, George was discharged from the castle; but he and two other gentlemen, Beaton and Sempil, who were devoted to Mary's service, waited on the opposite bank of the lake, at the village of Kinross. They had found means to gain over Mary's laundresses, who, next time she went to the castle, dressed the queen in her homely cloaths and muffler, and loaded her with a bundle of dirty linen. This disguise succeeded so well, that Mary, without suspicion, went into the boat that was to carry back the laundresses. The boatmen, by the whiteness of Mary's hand, which she was incautious enough to expose, discovered who she was; but she charged them, upon their allegiance, to proceed. This they refused to do; but with a generosity above their rank, they promised not to discover her attempt, and rowed back to the castle. It is probable that George had engaged in Mary's interest several of the domestics, and some of the keepers. It is said that several of the regent's friends endeavoured to put him on his guard against his brother's practices in Mary's favour; but that he was now so secure as to disregard their repeated admonitions.

There

There is the strongest reason to believe that this security of the regent, and the disregard he manifested for many of the lords of his own party, arose in a great measure from a secret correspondence he still carried on with Cecil, and the knowledge he had of that minister's influence in Elizabeth's councils. His own servant, Elphinston, carried his letters to Drury, the governor of Berwick, who forwarded them to Cecil; and in one of them he discovers great uneasiness at a report which had prevailed, of his being displeased with Cecil for not addressing his letters to him as regent of Scotland. This circumstance is the more remarkable, because he had before returned a letter from the greatest nobility of his own country unopened, on account of its having wanted that formality. Many other proofs are extant, that Murray, whatever appearance of haughtiness or austerity he might assume towards the Scottish nobility, courted Cecil's friendship in the most abject terms. The great expence he was at in maintaining about his person a kind of a standing army, on pretence of restoring the public tranquillity, drove him at this time into some very mean and impolitic measures for paying his soldiers. We find an order of the privy-council for stripping the cathedrals of Aberdeen and Elgin, two sumptuous edifices, of the lead which covered them; for the Reformation had not been so fatal in the North, as in other parts of the kingdom, to religious buildings.

The means by which Mary was delivered from her imprisonment have been variously represented; but it is agreed on all hands, that the capital instrument of her escape was young George Douglas, who is represented by historians as no more than eighteen years of age. By his means she corresponded with her friends, and prepared them for her enterprize. Upon the second day of May, about seven o'clock in the evening, while his brother sat at supper, and the rest of the family were retired to their devotions, this young man, possessing himself of the keys of the castle, hastened to the queen's apartment, and conducted her out of prison; locking the gates of the castle behind him, to prevent a sudden pursuit. They flew to the lake, entered a boat which was in readiness for them, and were rowed to the opposite shore, where she was received by lord Seton, and sir James Hamilton, who, with a few attendants, waited for her. She instantly mounted on horseback, and rode full speed towards Niddric, lord Seton's seat in West Lothian. After halting

*Arrives at
Hamilton,
and raises
a nume-
rous army.*

there three hours, she set out for Hamilton; and travelling at the same pace, she reached it next morning^e.

On the first news of Mary's escape, her friends ran to arms. In a few days, her court was filled with a splendid train of nobles, accompanied by such numbers of followers, as formed an army above six thousand strong. In their presence, she declared that the resignation of the crown, and other deeds she had signed during her imprisonment, were extorted from her by fear; and accordingly, a council of the nobles and the chief men of her party pronounced all these transactions void and illegal. At the same time, an association was formed for the defence of her person and authority.

When the queen made her escape, the regent was at Glasgow, holding a court of justice. Many of his adherents immediately appeared to waver; others began to carry on private negotiations with the queen; and some openly revolted to her side. Murray was advised to retreat to Stirling, but he rejected an expedient which would animate his enemies, and discourage his partizans. A message from the queen admonished him to surrender the regency, and not to oppose himself to her government; and it intimated, that a pardon of all the proceedings against her person and her honour, would be the reward of his submission. He returned no direct answer; being disposed to gain time, by appearing to enter into a negotiation. But while he amused the queen for some days with the hopes of an accommodation, he was employed, with the utmost industry, in collecting his adherents from all quarters. He was soon in a condition to take the field; and though far inferior to the enemy in number, he confided so much in the valour of his troops, and the experience of his officers, that he broke off the negotiation, and determined to hazard a battle^s.

At the same time, the queen's generals had commanded her army to move. Their intention was, to conduct her to Dumbarton castle, a place of great strength, which the regent had not been able to wrest out of the hands of lord Fleming, the governor; but if the enemy should endeavour to interrupt their march, they resolved not to decline an engagement. In the queen's situation, however, this resolution was improvident. A part only of her forces was assembled. Huntley, Ogilvie, and the northern clans,

^s Melvil.

^s Keith.

were

were soon expected; her sufferings had removed, or diminished, the prejudices of many of her subjects; and she had much to hope from pursuing slow and cautious measures.

Between the two armies, and on the road towards Dumbarton, was an eminence called Langside-hill. This the regent had the precaution to seize, and posted his troops in a small village, and among some gardens and inclosures adjacent. In this advantageous situation he waited the approach of the enemy, whose superiority in cavalry could be of no advantage to them on such broken ground. The Hamiltons, who composed the vanguard, ran so eagerly to the attack, that they put themselves out of breath, and left the main body far behind. The encounter of the spearmen was fierce and desperate; but as the forces of the Hamiltons were exposed to the fire of the enemy on both flanks, and were not supported by the rest of the queen's army, they were soon obliged to give way, and the rout immediately became universal.

*Battle of
Langside.*

*The queen's
army de-
feated.*

During the engagement, Mary stood on a hill, at no great distance, and beheld all that passed in the field, with such emotions of mind as are not easily described. When she saw the army, which was her last hope, thrown into irretrievable confusion, her spirit was entirely subdued. In the utmost consternation she galloped off the field with a few attendants, among whom was the lord Herries, the only nobleman on her side who had distinguished himself in the battle. At first she thought of shutting herself up in Dumbarton castle; but reflecting that all the passes to it were in the hands of her enemies, she, in compliance with the advice of lord Herries, directed her flight towards Galloway, where she could have an easy communication with England. The remembrance of her late captivity excited so much her exertion, that she rode almost sixty Scottish miles from the field of battle, before she slept. Having refreshed herself, after so fatiguing a journey, at the abbey of Dundrannan, in Galloway, she held a consultation with her friends how to proceed. She proposed England as her only asylum; and, though lord Herries and her other attendants conjured her, even on their knees, not to put confidence in Elizabeth's professions or generosity, her infatuation was invincible, and she resolved to fly thither. Herries, by her command, wrote to Lowther, the deputy-governor of Carlisle, to know what reception he would give her; and, before his answer could arrive, her fear and impatience were so great, that she got

*He flies to
England.*

into a fisher-boat, and, with about twenty attendants, landed at Wirkington in Cumberland, whence she was conducted with many marks of respect to Carlisle ^b.

Elizabeth deliberates concerning the manner of treating her.

As soon as Mary arrived in England, she dispatched a messenger to London, imploring Elizabeth's protection, and desiring permission to visit her. The English queen, being informed of her misfortunes and retreat, deliberated with her council for some time upon the proper method of proceeding. But if their deliberations had been influenced by considerations of justice or generosity alone, the matter might soon have been determined. A queen, vanquished by her own subjects, and threatened with the loss of her liberty, or of her life, had fled from their violence, and thrown herself into the arms of her nearest neighbour and ally, from whom she had received repeated assurances of friendship and protection. These circumstances entitled her to respect and to compassion, and required that she should either be restored to her own kingdom, or at least be left at full liberty to seek for aid from any other quarter. But in the case of a rival, Elizabeth's conduct was not to be governed either by justice or generosity; and in contempt of the rights of hospitality, she determined to retain Mary a prisoner.

Resolves to detain her in England.

If ever Elizabeth was sincere in her professions of friendship towards Mary, her sentiments were now altered. Beaton, who had been sent with a commission from Mary to the queen of England, found ready admittance to her presence; but he was so incautious as previously to inform Cecil that he was ordered by his mistress to proceed to the court of France, and to make the same request to that king as to Elizabeth, a supply of men and money. Cecil did not fail to acquaint Elizabeth with this particular; and though she gave Beaton all possible encouragement, she told him with an air of frankness, that Mary could receive no assistance from her, if she applied for any from France; upon which Beaton promised to do nothing at that court, but to notify his queen's escape from prison. In the mean while, Cecil informed Norris, the English resident at Paris, of what had happened, and instructed him to acquaint the French king, that if any assistance should be sent to Mary from France, she need expect none from England.

Elizabeth, in order to make her treatment of the Scottish queen seem to appear the effect of necessity, rather

^b Melvil. Keith.

than of choice, resolved to assume the appearance of concern for her interest, and of deep sympathy with her sufferings. She immediately sent orders to lady Scrope, sister to the duke of Norfolk, a lady who lived in the neighbourhood of Carlisle, to attend on the queen of Scots; and soon after, dispatched lord Scrope himself, with sir Francis Knolles, to pay her all possible respect. But Elizabeth refused to admit the queen of Scotland into her presence, until she had cleared her character from the foul aspersions with which it had been stained by her enemies (A).

Mary's

(A) The situation and sufferings of the Scottish queen are so strongly depicted in her first letter to Elizabeth, that the following translation of it, from the French, is worthy of being inserted.

“ Although my dear sister is not unapprised of the conduct of some of my subjects, whom, from nothing, I raised to the first dignities in my realm, yet that their ingratitude and rebellion may appear the more conspicuous, your majesty will please to recollect how first they attempted to seize me, and the king my late husband; but it pleased God not only to defeat their enterprize, but to permit us to drive them from our kingdom, into which, however, they were again received, at your request. But no sooner were they returned, than they committed a more enormous crime than the former, by killing one of my servants in my presence, when big with child, and by holding me captive. And though Providence was again propitious in delivering me out of their power, and I not only forgave, but received them into as great confidence as ever; yet they, forgetting my favour, and dis-

regarding their promise, devised, favoured, signed, and assisted, in a crime which they falsely impute to me, as I hope plainly to prove to you. Under this pretext they came against me in battle-array, accusing me of being badly counselled and of keeping bad company, from which they wanted to deliver me, that they might freely shew me what things required reformation. Being conscious of my own innocence, and willing to prevent bloodshed, I surrendered myself. But reformation (of which I was desirous) was not their purpose. They seized and sent me to prison. When I accused them of breach of promise, and requested to know the reason of this disloyal usage, they answered me not. I asked to be heard in council: it was refused me. In short, they confined me without the necessary attendants; two women, a cook, and a surgeon, being all my household. They threatened to kill me, if I did not sign a renunciation of my crown, which the fear of death only made me to do, as I have since evidenced before all my nobility, and as I hope to give you authentic proofs of.

After

Mary's conduct under such a load of afflictions, though passionate, and sometimes inconsistent, was natural. She often

After that, they re-seized (ils me resaisirent), accused, and proceeded against me in parliament, without acquainting me with their reasons, without hearing me, forbidding any lawyer to defend my cause. They likewise obliged others to accede to their usurpation of my dignity; and robbing me of every thing I had in the world, they would never permit me, either by words or writing, to prove the falsity of their inventions. At last it pleased God to deliver me, when they were on the verge of murdering me, that they might enjoy my state with more security, although I offered to answer their accusations, and to concur with them in punishing the guilty. I say it pleased God to deliver me, to the great contentment of all my subjects, Murray, Morton, Hume, Glencairn, Sempil, and Marr, only excepted; and yet, after the whole of the nobility had resorted to me, I sent, in spite of their ingratitude and unjust cruelty, to offer them surety for their lives and estates, and to call a parliament for the reformation of the state. Twice did I make this overture, and twice did they imprison my messengers, and, by proclamation, declared all who should assist me traitors. I informed them, that if they would name any one of my party to mediate in peace, he should be sent; provided they would also commission those of their faction I should pitch upon, for that

purpose. They took my officer, and my proclamations; and when I demanded a safe-conduct for my lord Boyd, they answered, if any had failed in duty to the regent and my son, whom they stile king, they had nothing for it, but to desert me, and submit. This greatly incensed all the nobility. Notwithstanding, when I considered that they were only private men (particuliers), and that all my nobles were more than ever devoted to my service, I would not proceed to chastise them, hoping that time, and your favour, would by degrees reduce them to their duty. But being informed that they were resolved either to retake me, or all die in the attempt, I began to march towards Dumbarton, my nobility keeping between me and the enemy. This when they saw, they posted themselves in the way of my forces, in order to catch me. My troops, being irritated to be thus interrupted on their march, attacked them, but without order. Thus, though I had twice their number, God permitted me to be discomfited. Many were killed in the field, many cruelly in the retreat, and many were made prisoners. But breaking off the pursuit, in order to take me either dead or alive, I hastened first to Dumbarton; but soon changing my course, God, of his infinite goodness, preserved me, to fly into your country, being well assured that I, my lord Herries, and the other

often upbraided Elizabeth as having prevailed upon her to readmit her rebels into Scotland. She sometimes complained

other nobles who attend me, will not only find a safe protection from their cruelty in your natural goodness, but assistance to recover my kingdom, and recommendation to other sovereigns. I beg you will send immediately for me, as I am in a condition not even suiting a single gentlewoman, having saved nothing from the enemy; to escape whom, I was obliged to ride sixty miles the first day across the country, never having dared since then to travel but by night. But as I hope soon to narrate to you, if you compassionate my misfortunes, the whole of their proceedings, I will not at present importune you with a longer narrative; but end with my prayers to God for good health and long life to you, and to me patience and consolation, which I expect from you, to whom I humbly recommend myself. Wirkington, May 17, 1568.

“Madam, my good sister, the gentleman who delivers you this, being come with a commission from my good brother the king of France, that he may understand the truth of my state and treatment in your kingdom, I am sorry that I have so little reason to praise the behaviour of your ministers. As for yourself, I neither can, nor will complain of you; and the rather, because I understand by my lord Herries, as well as by the copy of a letter you wrote to my bastard brother, that you have ordered that wicked subject to render you an account of

his unjustifiable proceedings. But what has followed? Middlemore sent to protect my subjects, has not, indeed, met with a refusal of your request, for that you might command; but before his eyes, they have demolished the house of a principal baron, and without seeming to take offence at an outrage so disgraceful and dishonourable to your friendship, in which I and my friends repose our all, he has remained for eight days with them in their company. What kind of offices he uses, I cannot say; but all my subjects affirm, that they are worse treated since his arrival. My enemies go farther; they boast of having an additional authority by him; and while they are pursuing their plan of conquering my kingdom, they are abusing you with promises, that they will lay before you the proofs of their wicked calumnies. What terrors would not this unequal treatment, which we receive, strike into me, were I not emboldened by my innocence, and my trust in that God who has hitherto preserved me! Consider, madam, they possess my authority, they usurp my power, they have my estate as the means of corruption; the revenues of the kingdom are at their command; and your ministers, some of them at least, daily send them advices and counsels how to behave so as to win you over. I wish to God you knew what I know. As to me I am here, kept as a prisoner, and discountenanced by the refusal of your presence;

plained of her duplicity, in detaining her, a sovereign, free-born princess, and legally subjected to the jurisdiction of

presence; while my enemies, with swords in their hands, have seized my all, under false inventories, the methods which they have used to detain them, while they prosecute their malicious slanders against me, who am destitute of counsel, and the means of making the proper preparations, under such circumstances, for vindicating my honour. All I can say is, may God judge between them and me!

“ My enemies have seen their cause countenanced by the only power from whom I expected relief; nay, my lord Scroop was commissioned to treat with them, which was the same thing as owning them to be the fountain of justice.

“ I cannot help pouring forth my complaints to you, to beg that you would send for me, that you may hear my sorrows, and give me quick relief, according to my necessities; or else that you would permit me to retire to France, or to any other country, where, as I wrote in my last letters, I should find more suitable entertainment. I again implore you, as you see what effects have followed, not to award so unequal a combat, betwixt them armed, and me defenceless. Impart to this gentleman your resolution, whether, in resentment of the dishonour they have done you, you intend to assist me, or to suffer me to go. For without waiting for a third attack, I shall be forced to have recourse to the kings of France and Spain, if you will

take no concern in, nor have any regard for, my just complaints; and when I am restored to my dignity, I shall then be in a condition to convince you of their malice, and my innocence. To suffer them to conquer my kingdom, and then come and accuse me, what have I gained by putting myself under your protection? Is it a proof of their righteousness that they proceed without answering for what is laid to their charge? Judge, madam, according to that superior understanding with which God has blest you, and not according to the views of those who are swayed by partial affections. I blame no person; but tread upon a vile worm, and it will turn against you. With what anguish then must a royal heart bear those delays which your advisers have occasioned?

“ I implore you, hear my complaints, which I have desired this gentleman to lay before you, and give them such an answer as that they shall need to proceed no farther. Thus, according to my hopes in you, you shall demonstrate that you have no occasion to be admonished to do justice to your blood, your equals, your neighbours, and your friends; and that you are even careful to hear and relieve the afflicted and oppressed, rather than the powerful and the unjust. Prove yourself, in effect, to be my elder sister, and you shall see that, with all gratitude and obedient friendship, I shall prove myself worthy of being the younger.

of no foreign power. At other times, she threatened to apply for justice to other princes, nay, to the Turk himself, if she was denied it in England; and she complained most vehemently, that Elizabeth had agreed to admit her rebel and bastard brother to her presence, while she excluded her, though her equal and her sister, from that privilege.

After a long debate in the English council, Elizabeth saw that she could not with any colour of equity reject all Mary's applications; and under pretext of Mary having already agreed to have her cause heard before English judges, she named the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and sir Ralph Sadler, her commissioners to try the cause between Mary and her subjects. It does not appear that Mary had ever precisely agreed to that method of proceeding; but Elizabeth took advantage of her general declarations, that she was willing to refer her cause to her cognizance. It was easy to see that Elizabeth, by the method she proposed, would gain all the ends she secretly aimed at, and still preserve some appearance of justice. It was no difficult matter to perplex and prolong the trial, and thereby to continue Mary's confinement, while Murray was to reign in Scotland as Elizabeth's substitute.

In the mean time, Murray received notice to appear before Elizabeth's commissioners, on the 4th of October following; but this resolution of Elizabeth was disagreeable to both parties. The lord Herries, who was Mary's ambassador with Elizabeth, endeavoured to explain the mean-

younger. The king, my good brother, will assist you in all your undertakings, if you require it; so will the king of Spain; and both of them shall owe you thanks. But, this apart, let the obligation be to me alone, let the satisfaction be theirs; and, according to your answer, this gentleman will either assure his master of your good offices, or will put him upon employing his own, which will give me no small uneasiness, on account of the friendship I promised myself at your hands, and which you had once resolved to perform.

"I likewise beg that you will suffer the lord Fleming to proceed on his journey, in some particular business relating to my jointure. There are certain other small requests in favour of some of my most trusty servants, which I have desired this gentleman to lay before you. Not to trouble you with a longer letter, I make a tender to your majesty of my most affectionate respects, praying God, madam, with health, to give you a long and happy reign. From Carlisle, this twenty-first of June,

Your good sister,
Mary R."

ing

ing of his mistress, in offering to submit her cause to Elizabeth. He said, she never meant to admit her own subjects to be parties against her; but that she might have access to Elizabeth, to whom she would not only vindicate her conduct, but make such discoveries as were known only to herself. He objected, for the same reason, against his mistress debasing herself to admit English noblemen, of whatever rank, as judges between her and her subjects. This opposition made by Herries, served as fresh matter to justify Mary's continuance in prison, especially after Elizabeth had received letters from Mary to the same purpose. Elizabeth referred Herries to her council, who charged him with having retracted what had been before agreed upon by himself and his mistress. Herries made the best apology for both he could, and offered, if Elizabeth would suffer Mary to return to Scotland, to procure the guaranty of the kings of France and Spain, that no foreign troops should be admitted into that kingdom; but not being able to produce any authority from those two potentates, Elizabeth persisted in her resolution of trying Mary's cause before commissioners.

The regent, on the other hand, proceeded with every caution that attends conscious guilt. Though well assured of Elizabeth's favour, and Cecil's friendship, he thought proper to make some previous stipulations. He demanded a full and particular answer relative to what he was to expect, in case he and his friends should make good their allegations against Mary, by proving the letters, sonnets, and contracts they had in their hands to be of her writing. To this demand Cecil answered in a very evasive manner. He said, that if his commissioners should appear before those of Elizabeth, they should be heard; but that, though the papers in question should be found to be originals, both parties should have a fair hearing. Upon farther consideration, the lord Herries, with Mary's consent, agreed to accept of the commissioners.

Mary's party in Scotland, though ignorant of her having submitted to be heard before English commissioners, had assembled at Largs in a numerous and respectable body. They joined in a letter addressed to Elizabeth, desiring that she would restore their injured sovereign to her dominions, in which case they promised to show themselves for ever grateful to her (Elizabeth); reminding her, at the same time, that they were far more capable than the regent or his party of doing her service. This letter, which is dated the 28th of July, is signed by the arch-
bishop

bishop of St. Andrew's, Huntley, Argyle, Crawford, Errol, Rothes, Cassils, Eglington, Caithness; the lords Fleming, Ross, Sanquhar, Ogilvie, Boyd, Oliphant, Drummond, Borthwick, Maxwell, Somerville, Forbes, and Yester.

Though Elizabeth took no notice of this paper, it had strong operation. By her request, the regent summoned a parliament to meet at Edinburgh on the 18th of August, in order to know how that assembly stood affected towards their unhappy queen. Murray had a secret end to serve, by inducing the members to appear at York, as his commissioners; and the accusers of Mary; while, by the same measure, he also maintained his rights as regent, and threatened to forfeit all who did not recognize his authority. The queen's lords were proof against all his menaces; and continued in the field in so powerful a body, that he did not judge it prudent to attack them, though he had made preparations for that purpose. He made his difficulties known to Elizabeth, who prevailed upon Mary to order her party in Scotland to quit the field, provided the regent abstained from all hostilities. With this he accordingly complied; so that both parties dismissed their forces.

This was an imprudent and fatal step in Mary, who probably was precluded from all opportunity of knowing the true state of her affairs; otherwise, whatever seeming compliances she might make to Elizabeth, she undoubtedly would have instructed her lords to pay no obedience to her orders, because they had been extorted from her under confinement. Murray, thus at liberty, assembled his parliament on the day appointed. This was an astonishing blow to the queen's party, who imagined that they were to wait the result of the proceedings in England. The meeting was therefore far from being unanimous. Many, even of the regent's party, exclaimed against the cause between Mary and her subjects being carried before a foreign tribunal; and Mary's party complained, by letter, to queen Elizabeth, of the insidious manner in which they had been over-reached. This letter is dated the 24th of August, after the archbishop of St. Andrew's, the bishop of Ross, lord Claud Hamilton, and others of the queen's barons had been forfeited in parliament; and it was signed by the archbishop of St. Andrew's, Huntley, Argyle, Crawford, Cassils, Eglington, Claud Hamilton, bishop of Ross; the lords Fleming, Sanquhar, Ross, Boyd, Somerville, and Ogilvy.

From the above list of subscribers, it appears that the queen's party had greater power and property in the kingdom than that of the regent. The latter, however, was possessed of the executive authority; and had at his command a body of troops ready to execute his orders; so that none of his professed enemies could safely trust themselves at Edinburgh. The kings of France and Spain, and other princes on the continent, were strongly prepossessed against him; and ordered their ministers at Elizabeth's court to represent the case of Mary as that of royalty oppressed by a daring rebel.

There are so many convincing proofs, from records, of Elizabeth's and her ministry's dissimulation, that it is impossible to pronounce any thing decisive as to her sincerity or duplicity, farther than as interest is the criterion of either. She certainly, at this time, appeared to be highly incensed with the regent for his proceedings against the queen's party; and told him, in plain terms, that if he did not appear at York, either in person or by his commissioners, on the day appointed, she would hold Mary as acquitted from all the crimes that had been laid to her charge, and restore her to her crown by force of arms.

The regent, without trusting to Elizabeth's secret professions of friendship, if she made any, or appearing to be moved by her menaces, assembled his troops before the queen's party could re-unite their's, and invaded the counties where Mary's interest was most prevalent. By a sudden irruption, he made himself master of Annandale, Niddale, and the Lower Galloway, where he either garrisoned or demolished the houses of his enemies. Having done thus much, he affected to be placable and moderate, if no farther provocation was given him: but this conduct being interpreted by Mary's friends into a consciousness of his own weakness, gave them fresh spirits, especially after they found that he could not prevail with any of his party to act as commissioners at York.

While the regent's affairs were in this state, he received fresh letters from Elizabeth, in such a strain as determined him, however reluctantly, to a compliance with her will. On the 18th of September, a commission passed the great seal of Scotland, in the name of the young king, appointing the regent, the lord-chancellor, Morton, Adam, bishop of Orkney, Robert, commendator of Dumfermling, with Patrick lord Lindsay of the Byres, or any three of them, his ambassadors, to meet with the commissioners of queen Elizabeth at York, or elsewhere, as should be judged

judged most convenient, to declare the reasons of their conduct against the queen of Scots, and to manifest to the world the justice of their cause. A farther object proposed by the commission was, either to confirm any former, or contract any new treaty for the maintenance of the true religion, and the resisting any foreign or domestic power that might attempt to disturb the tranquillity of either realm.

The three English commissioners, namely, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Suffex, and sir Ralph Sadler, were by this time arrived at York. Wood, the regent's agent at London, had shewn them translations of the letters and other papers charged upon Mary; and Elizabeth had been lately alarmed by the prince of Condé, with a report, that Mary had transferred to the duke of Anjou her right to the crown of England; and that his claim was to be supported by the popish princes of the continent, as soon as the pope should confirm her renunciation. Thus every motive concurred to prejudge the cause of the unfortunate Mary. Her commissioners were the lord Herries, the bishop of Ross, the lords Livingston and Boyd, the commendator of Kilwinning, and the barons of Lochinva, Stirling, Roslin, and Grantully. Those for the young king of Scotland (the process being carried on in his name) were the regent, earl of Murray, the earl of Morton, the bishop of Orkney, the abbot of Dumfermling, and the lord Lindsay. To them were joined, as assistants, Mr. James Macgill, Mr. Henry Balnaves, two senators of the college of justice, and Mr. George Buchanan, the celebrated historian, all of them warmly attached to Murray. Secretary Maitland, the baron of Lochleven, the bishop of Murray, and several other gentlemen, with Murray's secretary, Wood, who is said to have been the most factious tool of his time, acted as volunteers on the same side. The regent was furnished by Morton with the famous silver box, and its contents; and he had given a receipt for the same to be forthcoming to Morton and the other lords who had taken arms against Mary, with the remarkable protestation, that he had neither augmented nor diminished them, as if, to use the remark of a late writer, Mary's hand-writing had been a manufacture in which the parties dealt.

This extraordinary conference, which deliberated on the conduct of a foreign queen, was opened at York, on the 4th of October. Elizabeth was now predetermined upon Mary's condemnation, or upon protracting the proceedings

*Conference
at York.*

*Proceed-
ings of the
commis-
sioners.*

ceedings in such a manner as that her confinement should be next to perpetual. She affected at first an appearance of great dislike towards the regent, whose authority, as she boasted to Mary, she had not yet recognized; but this was only that she might drive them to the necessity of vindicating her own conduct at Mary's expence, so as to obtain a handle to proceed against her with the greater severity. When Murray came into court, the English commissioners demanded a sight of his commission. At first he refused to produce any, alleging, that himself was a principal in the cause; but he promised to obtain a ratification, under the great seal of Scotland, to whatever he should agree. This answer not proving satisfactory to the English commissioners, he at last produced a commission for himself and his associates. In the commission produced by Mary's agents, it was said that Elizabeth had undertaken to restore the queen of Scots to her realm and authority. The English commissioners objected to this clause, but at last admitted it in such a sense, as that it should not be binding upon Elizabeth. A form of an oath was then proposed to be taken by the Scots, to which the young king's, as well as his mother's commissioners objected, as expressive of a superiority in Elizabeth. Next day, however, Mary's commissioners produced the copy of an oath, which they were willing to take under a protest, that their mistress, being an independent sovereign, did not mean, by having her cause examined, to submit herself to the judgment of any power. The English commissioners accepted of this oath, but under a counter-protest, that they did not mean, by their acceptance, to prejudge any claim of superiority which the crown of England might have in respect of Scotland. Those preliminaries being adjusted, the dean of York administered the oaths to the commissioners of both countries.

On the 7th of October, the bishop of Ross and the lord Herries produced, both by word and in writing, a heavy charge against Murray and his associates, for the injuries they had done to their queen and her friends, calling upon the opposite party at the same time to produce their charge against Mary. A copy of this paper was sent to the regent, who, with his associated commissioners, appeared in the afternoon of the 8th, and demanded to know, if they should bring forward and prove their charge against Mary, what assurance they had of not being exposed to danger from her resentment, or that of the young king, her son. Elizabeth's commissioners, having
been

been previously instructed on this point, answered, that though their mistress earnestly desired to find Mary not guilty, especially of the crime of her husband's murder, yet if the contrary should be established by the trial, she would think her unworthy of a kingdom, and would not stain her own conscience by restoring the royal prisoner to a crown. The regent then declared that his demand arose from a general report, that Elizabeth was determined, at all events, to acquit Mary, and restore her to her kingdom. He added, that his enemies affirmed they could produce this promise under Elizabeth's own hand. Those reports were easily refuted by the English commissioners; but next day, the regent, instead of giving his answer, as he had promised, started two difficulties which had been suggested to him by Maitland. The former was, that Elizabeth's commission did not expressly authorize her commissioners to treat of Darnley's murder. The latter, that they were apprehensive of very bad consequences, should Elizabeth delay to give sentence after the proofs were produced. To the former objection it was answered, that the words of their commission being general, "to treat of all matters concerning their controversies," comprehended the murder. With regard to the remaining objection, they could give no other answer, than that Elizabeth's conduct should be consistent with honour and equity. The regent and his associate commissioners, however, dissatisfied with these answers, insisted upon having security under Elizabeth's hand, that they should not be exposed to Mary's resentment; without which they refused to produce their proofs.

The principal evidence produced against Mary was some papers, said to have been contained in a silver box, which was intercepted on one Dalglish, a servant of Bothwell's, on the 20th day of June, 1567. These papers consisted of eight letters, beside love-sonnets, and the whole was written in French. The story of this box, however, contains improbabilities, and cannot be reconciled with history and events. There remains not any authentic or unsuspicious evidence that the queen had dishonoured the bed of lord Darnley; and, upon the supposition that she had been actually engaged in a criminal intercourse with Bothwell, it is extremely improbable that she would have written those letters. But, admitting even that she was guilty with Bothwell, and had addressed those papers to him, the story still labours with difficulties. The earl of Bothwell was more than suspect-

*Story of
the casket
and papers.*

ed of a concern in the murder of the king. These papers contained manifest proofs of his guilt; and it evidently was not his interest to preserve them. His marriage with the queen was celebrated upon the 15th day of May, 1567. This event was the signal for her adversaries to revolt from Bothwell, to whom they had pretended friendship, and to involve the queen in his ruin. They revolted accordingly, and he was loudly charged with the murder of the king. Now in this situation, admitting that he had preserved any criminal papers, he must have felt the strongest inducement to destroy them; and Mary herself must have also been strongly prompted by the same wish. The castle of Edinburgh, where the papers are said to have lain, was, at this time, entirely at their command; and sir James Balfour, the deputy-governor, was the creature of Bothwell. If his enemies should come to the knowledge of such papers, his ruin would be inevitable. They were in arms against him: upon the 6th of June they compelled him to retire from Holyrood-house. From his marriage, until the 5th day of June, it was in his power to have destroyed those papers; and if they had really existed, it is not to be imagined that he would have neglected a step so expedient not only for his own security and reputation, but for those of the queen. Upon the 6th day of June, it is evident that he entertained some suspicions of the fidelity of sir James Balfour, as he avoided to take refuge in the castle of Edinburgh. Upon Carberry-hill, on the 14th day of this month, he was admonished that he was undone. He went immediately to the castle of Dunbar, where he remained some days, and formed the scheme of his flight. The queen was that day made a prisoner at Carberry-hill; and, the day after, she was shut up in Lochleven. In this season, when sir James Balfour was his enemy, when all his hopes had vanished, and when he had resolved to effectuate his escape, he is represented as being anxious about the casket and papers; after neglecting to take possession of them, when his motives to destroy them must have been extremely cogent, and when it was entirely in his power. He is made to send for them when his difficulties and despair render it improbable that he could so much as think of them, and when it was impossible that he could recover them: his messenger is intercepted with the casket; and the queen's enemies, upon the 20th day of June, become possessed of vouchers with which they might operate her destruction.

But

But strong as these inconsistencies may appear, the story is liable to other objections, and which are of yet greater force, and altogether insurmountable. A few days after George Dalglish, the messenger, was taken, he was examined judicially in a council, where the earls of Morton and Athol are marked as present. It was natural upon this occasion to make enquiries about the casket and papers; but no questions were put to him on this subject. He was not confronted with sir James Balfour, to whom the casket was said to have been committed in charge, nor with the domestics of the earl of Morton, who had apprehended him. He was kept in prison many months after this examination; and, during a period when the rebels were extremely much pressed to apologize for their violence against the queen, they had numberless opportunities of bringing him to a confession. These opportunities, however, were avoided; and there exists not the slightest evidence to show that the casket and papers had ever been in his possession. Can it be supposed, that if the casket and papers had really been discovered with him, the queen's enemies would have neglected to establish a fact of so great importance? They would doubtless have accomplished its proof in the completest manner; and for this they had the most powerful inducements. Dalglish, at his execution, asserted the innocence of the queen, and actually charged the earls of Murray and Morton as the contrivers of the murder^a.

The 20th day of June is fixed as the epoch of the discovery of the letters. If this discovery had been real, the triumph of the queen's enemies would be extreme. They would not have delayed a moment to proclaim their joy, and to publish her guilt, by authentic documents. They preserved, however, a long and profound silence: it was not until the 4th day of December, 1567, that the papers received the first mark of notice and distinction. From the 20th of June to the 4th of December, many transactions and events of the highest importance had taken place; and the most powerful motives that have influence with men, had called upon them to publish their discovery; yet they never produced, or even so much as hinted at those papers. In the proclamation which they issued for apprehending Bothwell, they inveigh against his guilt, and express an anxious desire to punish the regicides; yet though this deed was posterior to the 20th of June, it contains no assertion to the dishonour of

the queen, nor any mention of the box and the letters. An ambassador arrived from France in this interval, to enquire into the rebellion and imprisonment of the queen; yet they apologized not for their conduct, by communicating to him the contents of the casket. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was sent to Scotland by Elizabeth, with instructions to act with Mary as well as with her adversaries. They denied him the liberty of waiting upon her at Lochleven, where she was detained a close prisoner; and they were earnest to impress him with the idea that her love of Bothwell was incurable. He pressed them on the subject of their behaviour towards her. At different times they attempted formally to vindicate themselves; and they were uniformly vehement on the topic of the love which she bore to that nobleman. There could not, therefore, be a happier opportunity for a display of the box and the letters, which they yet abstained from producing. They were solicitous to divide the party of the nobles which had declared for the queen; and for this end there could not be any measure so effectual as such vouchers; yet they called no convention of her friends to surprise and disunite them by this fatal discovery. They flattered the protestant clergy, attended the assemblies of the church, and employed arts to inflame them against the queen; but they ventured not to excite the ecclesiastical fury by an exhibition of the box and letters. They compelled the queen to subscribe a resignation of her crown, and they had the strongest reasons to be solicitous of justifying this daring transaction. The box and the letters would have served as a complete vindication of them; yet they neglected to take any notice of these important vouchers, and were contented with resting on the wild and frivolous pretence, that the queen, from sickness and fatigue, was disgusted with the care of her kingdom. In fine, when the earl of Murray went to Lochleven to pay his very remarkable visit to the queen, and expostulated with her in terms the most rude, indecent, and cruel, he did not reproach her with the box and the letters: yet, if these papers had been genuine, it is incredible to conceive that he would have abstained from pressing them upon her; for it was his purpose to overwhelm her with distress. The conclusion to be drawn from this enumeration of concurring particulars, is natural and unavoidable; these memorable papers had not yet any existence (A).

(A) These remarks on the box and letters are, with a few alterations, copied from a late writer.

When

When the queen's enemies had achieved the overthrow of Bothwell, and had thrown herself into the prison of Lochleven, they had reason to dread her popularity, and her deliverance from confinement. They were not absolutely certain that Elizabeth would refuse to take the part of the queen; and they had apprehensions of the interposition of France. They accordingly held consultations about the most effectual means for their own security. When the earl of Murray assumed the regency, it was necessary that they should come forward with their vindication, and, from their being possessed of the reins of government, they could manage their vindication to the greater advantage. Accordingly, in this critical period, they made their defence. In a privy-council assembled by the earl of Murray upon the 4th day of December, 1567, an enquiry concerning the conduct of the nobles and gentlemen who had acted against the queen, and which had been agitated for some days, was concluded. This was in fact an investigation made by themselves into their own behaviour and actions; and the issue was as favourable as might have been expected. They pronounced, that, from the time of the murder of the king, until the period of their deliberations, they had acted as faithful and true subjects; and that every extremity to which they had proceeded against the queen, had its source in her own misconduct. They affirmed that she was a party with the earl of Bothwell in the king's murder, and that this murder had been committed with a view to their marriage. To support this conclusion, they appealed to the letters which they pretended she had written to him; and they mentioned them as the chief and justifying causes of their rebellion. It appears not, however, that the letters were examined, or even read in this council, or but it may be concluded at least, that they were now in existence. Upon the 4th day then of December, 1567, the letters are first mentioned.

The first evidence of the existence of the letters.

In the act of this singular privy-council it is observable, that the queen's enemies impute to the letters their knowledge of her guilt, and point to them as the source or spring of their rebellion. Now, according to their own account, the letters were not discovered until the 20th day of June: yet there is nothing more certain, than that they were in arms, and had displayed their hostile banners in the month of May. In consequence of their order, the queen was committed to the castle of Lochleven upon the 16th of June. The letters, therefore, could

could not give rise to events which were prior to their discovery; and this act of council, and a solemn deed of their own, is an express evidence against the authenticity of the letters.

But let this act of council be considered in the light the most favourable to them, and be tried by transactions of their own, which were posterior to the 20th day of June; it was upon the 26th of this month that they proclaimed Bothwell a traitor. In this act of proclamation they impute to him the murder of the king; but they charge him also with treason, as the ravisher of the queen; affirm that her marriage with him was forced, and that she was under bondage; assign as their reason for taking arms, their desire to punish him as the author of the murder and the rape; and command the subjects of Scotland not to assist him in any respect, under the penalty of being accounted partakers with him in these horrible crimes. Now, if their act of council is to be credited, and if the letters were genuine, the confederates were at this very time under the strongest conviction of her guilt, considered as a deviser and accomplice of the murder, and believed that her view in the murder was to accomplish the marriage. They could not, therefore, with any probability, have charged Bothwell as exclusively guilty of the murder, of having committed a rape upon her, in order to accomplish his purposes, and of being exposed to the laws of his country, for the just crimes of murder, treason, and ravishment. This evidence is not single and unsupported. In a laboured manifesto on the subject of their rebellion, which they delivered to Throgmorton on the 11th of July, they expressly represent the queen as free from any concern in the death of her husband. They directly acknowledge that the crimes of Bothwell had put arms into their hands; that he had accomplished the murder, in order that he might compel the queen to marry him; that, in reality, the marriage was effected by force, and that he kept her in captivity. They declare it as their firm persuasion, that he had schemed to take away her life, as well as that of the prince her son. These are positive and definitive declarations, and they are in the most absolute contradiction to the sense of their act of council, and to the authenticity of the letters. In a regular and formal deed, which they issued upon the 21st day of July, they describe the wickedness of Bothwell, and positively assert, that after he had committed the murder, he treacherously assaulted the person of the queen, took her captive to Dun-

bar, and, keeping her in bondage, constrained her to marry him.

The whole conduct of Murray and his confederates at this time, afford strong evidence of a consciousness, that the letters so much boasted of, were forgeries. Had the letters been produced, they would have come into the possession of the court; and the prosecutors had no doubt but the English commissioners would detain them for their own and Elizabeth's vindication. The probable result would have been a future enquiry into the genuineness of the papers; a measure which Murray knew could not terminate to his advantage. They took, therefore, a middle way, and blackened Mary as effectually as if the silver box had been produced, and its contents authenticated. Maitland, who now acted as an assistant to Murray, Macgill, Wood, and Buchanan, repaired to the English commissioners, not as authorized by their principals, but as private gentlemen, and presented them with the contents of the silver box for their perusal. It does not appear that any of the English commissioners were acquainted with Mary's hand-writing; and upon the bare affirmation of her enemies, which would not be admitted in the most venal court of justice, depends all the proof that has been brought of those letters having been written by Mary.

While every thing wore a favourable appearance for Mary, and Elizabeth's difficulties how to proceed against her were multiplied, Mary's commissioners thought proper to attend her at Bolton, to receive farther instructions; but on the 16th of October, the English commissioners received from Elizabeth a long, but artful letter, ordering sir Ralph Sadler to repair to the court, and recommending to them to use means for prevailing upon the regent's party to send up to London Maitland and Macgill, and upon Mary's, to send thither the lord Herries and the abbot of Kilwinning. They were charged to insinuate to Mary's friends, that this proposal was in order to save time, and prevent inconveniencies, occasioned by the great distance between York and London; in short, that it was calculated for Mary's advantage. The scene of the conferences was therefore removed to Hampton-court, where they were spun out by affected delays. Elizabeth being secretly determined to detain Mary in captivity, she was sent to Tutbury-castle, in the county of Stafford, where she was put under the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury.

Here

Here she amused her royal prisoner with the hopes of one day coming into favour; and that, unless her own obstinacy prevented it, an accommodation might at last take place ^b.

A.D. 1570.

The regent is murdered.

Mary's friends in Scotland take arms, and commit some ravages on the borders. Elizabeth sends an army into the North.

But all hopes of accommodation were occasionally interrupted by some sinister accident. The factions of Mary's subjects tended not a little to increase the rigours of her confinement, by alarming the jealousy of Elizabeth. The regent, who had been long Mary's inveterate enemy, happening to be assassinated, in revenge of a private injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton, upon his death the kingdom relapsed into its former anarchy. Mary's party once more assembled, and became masters of Edinburgh. They even ventured to the borders of England, where they committed some outrages, to suppress which required all the vigilance of Elizabeth. She quickly sent an army, commanded by the earl of Sussex, who entering Scotland, principally chastised all the partizans of the captive queen, under a pretence that they had offended his mistress by harbouring English rebels.

Artifices of Elizabeth.

Lenox appointed regent.

But the designs and arts of Elizabeth did not rest here. While she kept up the most friendly correspondence with Mary, and the most warm protestations of sincerity passed between them, she was far from either assisting her cause, or yet from rendering it desperate. It was her interest to keep alive the factions in Scotland; and, for this purpose, she, by tedious negotiations, weakened the party of the queen, which now promised to gain an ascendancy; and she procured the earl of Lenox to be appointed regent, in the room of Murray, who was slain.

This attempt in Mary's favour proved thus unsuccessful, as well as another, which was concerted near the place of her captivity. The duke of Norfolk was the only peer who enjoyed that highest title of nobility in England; and the qualities of his mind corresponded with his high station. His virtues had acquired him the affections of the people, without alarming the jealousy of the sovereign. He was at this time a widower; and being of a suitable age to espouse the queen of Scots, her personal attractions, as well as his interests, made him desirous of the match. The obtaining Elizabeth's consent, previous to the nuptials, was considered as a circumstance essential to his aims; but while this nobleman made

^b Melvil;

almost all the nobility of England confident to his passion, he never had the prudence, or the courage, to open his intentions to the queen herself. On the contrary, in order to suppress the surmises which were currently reported, he spoke contemptuously of Mary to Elizabeth. This duplicity served only to inflame the queen's suspicions; and Norfolk, finding that she seemed to give his declarations little credit, retired from the court in disgust. Repenting, however, soon after of this measure, he was resolved to return, with a view of regaining the queen's good graces; but on the way he was stopped by a messenger from the queen, and soon committed to the Tower, under the custody of sir Henry Nevil.

Progress of the duke of Norfolk's marriage with Mary.

The duke of Norfolk, however, was too much beloved by his partizans in the North, to be confined without an effort made for his release. The earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland had concerted measures for a rebellion; had communicated their design to Mary and her ministers; had entered into a correspondence with the duke of Alva, governor of the Low-Countries, and had obtained his promise of men and ammunition. But the vigilance of Elizabeth's ministry was not to be eluded. Orders were immediately sent for those noblemen to appear at court. They now perceiving their schemes discovered, were obliged to begin their revolt before matters were entirely prepared for its opening. They accordingly published a manifesto, in which they affirmed, that no injury was intended against the queen, to whom they professed the most dutiful attachment; but that their sole aim was to re-establish the religion of their ancestors, to remove all evil counsellors from about the queen's person; and to restore the duke of Norfolk to his liberty and the queen's favour. Their number amounted to four thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse; and they expected to be joined by all the catholics in England. But they soon found themselves deceived. The queen's conduct had acquired the general good will of the people; and the duke of Norfolk himself, for whose sake they had revolted, used every method his circumstances would permit, to assist Elizabeth's ministers. The insurgents were obliged to retire to Hexham; and hearing that reinforcements were upon their march to join the royal army, they found no other expedient but to disperse themselves without a blow. Northumberland fled into Scotland, and was confined by the regent in the castle of Lochleven. Westmoreland, after attempting to excite the Scots to revolt,

was

was obliged to seek refuge in Flanders, where he found protection, Norfolk was set at liberty, and allowed to return home, upon promising not to proceed any farther in his pretensions to the queen of Scots.

But he had not been released above a year, when new projects were set on foot, secretly fomented by the bishop of Ross, Mary's minister in England. It was concerted, that Norfolk should renew his designs upon the Scottish queen, and should enter into all her interests; while, on the other hand, the duke of Alva promised to send to his assistance, as soon as he should be able to begin operations, a body of six thousand foot, and four thousand horse. This scheme was so secretly laid, that it had hitherto entirely escaped the vigilance of Elizabeth and her ministers, and was found out merely by accident. Upon the discovery, the duke was arrested, tried, and executed.

A.D. 1571.

*Disfracted
State of
Scotland.*

Meanwhile, Scotland was desolated by all the miseries of civil war. Fellow-citizens, friends, brothers, took different sides, and ranged themselves under the standards of the contending factions. In every county, and almost in every town and village, King's-men and Queen's-men were names of distinction. The factions which divided the kingdom were, in appearance, only these two; but in them were persons, with views and principles extremely different from each other. With some, considerations of religion were predominant, and they either adhered to the queen, because they hoped, by her means, to re-establish popery, or they defended the king's authority, as the best support of the protestant faith. Among these the opposition was violent and irreconcilable. Others were influenced by political motives only, or allured by views of interest. Maitland and Kirkaldy had formed the design of a coalition, but on such terms, that the queen might be restored to some share in the government, and the kingdom shake off its dependance on England. Morton, the most ambitious, and the most powerful man of the king's party, held a particular course. Moving only as he was prompted by the court of England, thwarted every measure that tended towards a reconciliation of the factions; and as he served Elizabeth with such fidelity, he derived both power and credit from her avowed protection.

Both parties had their different parliaments, and the time appointed for the meeting of those assemblies now approached. Only three peers and two bishops appeared in

in that which was held in the queen's name at Edinburgh. But small as their number was, they passed an act for attainting upwards of two hundred of the adverse faction. The meeting at Stirling was numerous and splendid. Lenox, the regent, had prevailed on the earls of Argyle, Eglington, Cassils, and lord Boyd, to acknowledge the king's authority. The three earls were among the most powerful noblemen of the kingdom, and had hitherto been zealous in the queen's cause. Lord Boyd had been one of Mary's commissioners at York and Westminster, and, since that time, had been admitted into all her most secret councils. The defection of so many persons of rank not only weakened the queen's party, but added reputation to her adversaries ^b.

The parliament at Stirling, after the example of that at Edinburgh, began with framing acts against the opposite faction. But in the midst of all the security, which confidence in their own numbers, or distance from danger, could inspire, they were awaked early one morning by the shouts of the enemy in the heart of the town. In a moment, the houses of every person of distinction were surrounded, and the regent, the earl of Argyle, Morton, Glencairn, Cassils, Eglington, Montrose, Buchan, the lords Sempil, Cathcart, and Ogilvie, were all made prisoners, and mounted behind troopers, who were ready to carry them to Edinburgh. Kirkaldy was the author of this daring enterprize; and if he had not been induced, by the ill-timed sollicitude of his friends about his safety, not to hazard his own person in conducting it, that day might have terminated the contest between the two factions, and restored peace to his country. By his direction four hundred men, under the command of Huntley, lord Claud Hamilton, and Scott, of Buccleugh, set out from Edinburgh, and the better to conceal their design, marched towards the South. But they soon wheeled to the right, and, horses having been provided for the infantry, rode streight to Stirling, where they arrived by four in the morning. They met with no resistance from any person they had seized, except Morton. He defending his house with obstinate valour, they were obliged to set it on fire, and he did not surrender, until forced out of it by the flames. In performing this, some time was consumed; and the private men, unaccustomed to discipline, left their colours, and began to plunder the

Sept. 3.
*The king's
party
seized in
Stirling.*

^b Crawford's Mem.

houses and shops of the citizens. The uproar of the town reached the castle, whence the earl of Mar sallied out with thirty soldiers, and fired briskly upon the enemy, of whom almost none but the officers kept together in a body. The townsmen took arms to assist the governor; a sudden panic struck the assailants; some fled, some surrendered themselves to their own prisoners; and had not the borderers, who followed Scott, prevented a pursuit, by carrying off all the horses within the place, not a man would have escaped. Lenox, the regent, fell a sacrifice in this contest. He was slain, according to the general opinion, by command of lord Claud Hamilton^d. Kirkaldy had the glory of concerting this plan with great secrecy and prudence; but Morton's obstinacy, and the want of discipline among the assailants, deprived the enterprize of that success which might have rendered it decisive of the civil commotions in Scotland.

*Lenox
killed.*

*Mar is ap-
pointed re-
gent.*

*Proceedings
in England
against
Mary.*

Though Mary's adherents continued to act against the opposite party, by whom the earl of Mar was now appointed regent, her interest was on the decline, not only in her own kingdom, but among the English. Nothing could be more offensive to that nation, jealous of foreigners, and terrified at the prospect of the Spanish yoke, than her negotiations with the duke of Alva. The parliament, which met in May, proceeded against her as the most dangerous enemy of the kingdom; and after a solemn conference between the lords and commons, it was agreed to bring in a bill to declare her guilty of high treason, and to deprive her of all right of succession to the crown. This great cause, as it was then called, occupied them during the whole session, and was carried on with much unanimity. Elizabeth, though she applauded their zeal, and approved greatly of the course they were taking, was satisfied with shewing Mary what she might expect from the resentment of the nation; but as she did not yet think it time to proceed to the most violent extremity against her, she prorogued the parliament.

In Scotland, the regent endeavoured to reconcile the contending parties, and he would, in all probability, have succeeded in his salutary design, had it not been for the ambition and envy of the earl of Morton, who thwarted him in all his measures. Such conduct made a deep impression on Mar, who, loving his country, wished for

peace with much ardour; and his grief brought on a distemper, of which he died on the 29th of October.

The regent's death.

A.D. 1573.

Morton appointed regent.

No competitor now appearing against Morton, and the queen of England powerfully supporting his claim, he was chosen regent. Though he did not desire peace from such generous motives as the former regent, he laboured, however, to establish it; because the public confusions and calamities, to which he owed his importance when he was only the second person in the nation, were extremely detrimental to him now that he was raised to be the first. The situation of Mary's adherents enabled him to carry on his negotiations with them to great advantage. They were now divided into two factions, at the head of one of which were Chatelherault and Huntley, and of the other, Maitland and Kirkaldy. The two former of these concluded a treaty with the regent; but his overtures were rejected by the two latter. Though all Scotland had now submitted to the king, Kirkaldy, who held the castle of Edinburgh in the queen's name, refused to surrender it, and waited the arrival of promised succours from France. The regent was in want of every thing necessary for carrying on a siege; but Elizabeth soon afforded him sufficient supplies. Sir William Drury marched into Scotland, with fifteen hundred foot, and a considerable train of artillery. The regent joined him with all his forces, and trenches were opened, and approaches regularly carried on, against the castle. Kirkaldy, though discouraged by the loss of a great sum of money, remitted to him from France, and which fell into the regent's hands, through the treachery of sir James Balfour, the most corrupt man of that age, defended himself with bravery, augmented by despair. Thirty-three days he resisted all the efforts of the besiegers, nor did he demand a parley until the fortifications were battered down, and one of the wells in the castle dried up, and the other choaked with rubbish. Even then his spirit was unsubdued, and he determined to fall gloriously in the last intrenchment, rather than to yield to his inveterate enemies: but his garrison mutinied; and he was forced to capitulate. He surrendered himself to Drury, who promised, in the name of his mistress, that he should be favourably treated. With him were made prisoners, James Kirkaldy, his brother, lord Home, Maitland, sir Robert Melvil, a few citizens of Edinburgh, and about a hundred and sixty soldiers.

Siege of the castle of Edinburgh.

*Kirkaldy
put to
death.*

Kirkaldy and his associates remained in Drury's custody, and were treated by him with great humanity, until the queen of England, whose prisoners they were, should determine their fate. Morton insisted that they should suffer the punishment due to their rebellion and obstinacy; and declared, that so long as they were allowed to live, he did not reckon his person or authority secure; and Elizabeth, without regarding Drury's honour, or his promises in her name, gave them up to the regent's disposal. He first confined them to separate prisons; and, soon after, with Elizabeth's consent, condemned Kirkaldy, and his brother, to be hanged at the cross of Edinburgh. Maitland, who did not expect to be treated more favourably, prevented the ignominy of a public execution by a voluntary death.

Aug. 3

A.D. 1574.

*The regents
administration
becomes
odious.*

Though the kingdom was now settled in profound peace, many of the evils, which accompany civil war, were still felt. Disorders, in every quarter, were become intolerable; and under the protection of one, or the other faction, crimes of every kind were committed with impunity. The regent set himself to redress those, and prosecuted the plan with a vigour which proved successful; but he lost, by his avarice, the reputation due to his important services; and his own exactions became more pernicious to the nation than all the irregularities which he restrained. Spies and informers were every where employed; the remembrance of old offences was revived; imaginary crimes were invented; petty trespasses were aggravated; and the delinquents were forced to compound for their lives, by the payment of exorbitant fines.

A.D. 1577.

*A plot
formed
against the
regent.*

All ranks of men in the nation were now become disgusted with the regent's government; and the nobles, who were about the king's person, began to instil into him suspicions of Morton's power and designs. Their suggestions made a deep impression on the young prince, who was trained up in high ideas of the royal authority. The earls of Argyre and Athol, two of the most powerful among the nobles, were animated with implacable resentment against the regent. To them the cabal in Stirling-castle communicated the plot which was on foot; and they entering warmly into it, Alexander Erskine, who, since the death of his brother, and during the minority of

f Melvil.

the

his nephew, had the command of that fort, and the custody of the king's person, admitted them secretly into the king's presence. They gave him the same account of the misery of his subjects, under the regent's arbitrary administration, and they besought the king, as the only means of redressing the public grievances, to call a general council of the nobles. James consented, and letters were issued, in his name, for that purpose. On the day appointed, far the greater part of the nobles assembled at Stirling; and so highly were they incensed against Morton, that they unanimously advised the king to deprive him of his office, and to take the administration of government into his own hands. Nothing could equal the joy with which this unexpected resolution filled the nation. Morton, perceiving the torrent too impetuous to be resisted, gave way to it with an affected alacrity. He obtained, however, from the king an act, containing the approbation of every thing done by him in the exercise of his office, and a pardon, in the most ample form, of all past offences, crimes, and treasons. The nobles, who adhered to the king, bound themselves, under great penalty, to procure the ratification of this act, in the first parliament.

A.D. 1572.

March 4.
*He resigns
his office,
and retires.*

A council of twelve peers was appointed to assist the king in the administration of affairs. Morton retired to one of his seats, and seemed to be occupied only with the amusements of a country-life; but even in this retreat, his wealth and abilities rendered him formidable. The new counsellors required him to surrender the castle of Edinburgh, which was still in his possession. He refused at first to comply, and began to prepare for its defence; but the citizens of the town having taken arms, and repulsed a part of the garrison, which was sent out to escort a convoy of provisions, he was obliged to surrender that important fortress.

The power and popularity of his adversaries, however, began soon to decline, and Morton, who had been watching for such an opportunity, immediately set to work the instruments which he had been preparing. Having gained the confidence of the earl of Mar, and of the countess his mother, he insinuated to them that Alexander Erskine had formed a plot to deprive his nephew of the government of Stirling-castle, and the custody of the king's person; and easily induced an ambitious woman, and a youth of twenty, to employ force for the prevention of the supposed injury. The earl repairing suddenly to Stirling,

*He resumes
his former
authority.*

ling, and being admitted, as usual, into the castle with his attendants, seized the gates early in the morning, and turned out his uncle, who dreaded no danger from his hands. The soldiers of the garrison submitted to him as their governor, and, without effusion of blood, he became master both of the king's person and the fortress. An event so unexpected occasioned great consternation; and though Morton's hand did not appear in the execution, he was universally believed to be the author of the attempt. The new counsellors saw it necessary for their own safety to enter into terms of accommodation with an adversary, still so capable of creating them trouble. A conference being held for this purpose, the result of the negotiation was, that Morton resumed a seat in the privy-council, where he acquired the same ascendant as before¹.

The time appointed for the meeting of the parliament at Edinburgh now approached, and Morton was afraid of carrying the young king to a city, the inhabitants of which were so much devoted to the adverse faction. Nor was he less unwilling to leave James behind at Stirling. He therefore issued a proclamation, in the king's name, changing the place of meeting to Stirling-castle. The earl of Athol and his party represented this as a step altogether unconstitutional, and that the king was, in effect, Morton's prisoner. Assembling their followers, they took arms, upon the specious pretence of rescuing the king from captivity, and the kingdom from oppression. James himself, impatient of the servitude in which he was held, secretly encouraged their enterprize, though he was obliged not only to disavow it in public, but to levy forces against them. Both parties quickly took the field. Argyle and Athol were at the head of seven thousand men; the earl of Angus, Morton's nephew, met them with an army five thousand strong; neither party, however, was eager to engage. In a short time, a treaty was concluded between them, in consequence of which, Argyle was admitted into the king's presence; some of their party were added to the privy-council; and a convention of nobles called, in order to bring all remaining differences to an amicable issue. After many delays, and with much difficulty, the contending nobles were at last brought to some agreement; but it was followed by a tragical event. Morton, in token of reconciliation, hav-

A.D 1579.

April 24.

¹ Crawf. Mem.

ing invited the leaders of the opposite party to a great entertainment; Athol, the chancellor, was, soon after, taken ill, and died within a few days. The symptoms of the disease gave rise to strong suspicions of his being poisoned; and the chancellor's relations publicly accused Morton of that odious crime^s.

About this time Mary sent, by Naué, her secretary, a letter to her son, with some jewels of value, and a vest embroidered with her own hands; but as she gave him only the title of prince of Scotland, the messenger was dismissed, without being admitted into his presence.

In a parliament which assembled this year, the chief business was to curb the heat of the ecclesiastics, who insisted upon having the church-polity settled according to their own model; and, notwithstanding the king's express orders to the contrary, had censured Morton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, for sitting in parliament, and granting collations to benefices. The day before the meeting, James made his entry by the west gate of Edinburgh on foot, and by his familiar behaviour with his new favourite, all the hopes of Morton's enemies were confirmed. The histories of the times are replete with the splendor and pageantry of his reception in his capital, and the prodigious acclamations of joy which attended him to his palace of Holyrood-house. The obstinacy of the ministers still continuing, they met with no redress; and James suffered the council to suspend their censures and excommunications. In short, a visible disgust towards his clergy appeared all of a sudden in his behaviour.

A parliament.

This happened at an untowardly juncture, when he had taken a popish favourite into his most intimate councils. The clergy, and the more serious part of the protestants, complained loudly of the insolent behaviour of the papists all over the kingdom, where, in some places, the popish ritual was revived; and in others, the persons and professions of the ministers were reviled. James, to still the clamour against popery, persuaded his favourite first to receive a popish chaplain into his house, and afterwards publicly to abjure the errors of popery in the high church of Edinburgh. His conversion was far from giving the satisfaction expected. Dispensations were said to have been intercepted from Rome, by which the papists were permitted to promise, swear, subscribe, and do what else should be required of them; so as, in mind,

^s Spotswood.

they continued firm, and did use their diligence to advance in secret the Romish faith. James readily foresaw the terrible effects which this discovery, whether real or affected, might produce. He therefore agreed to, and subscribed a short confession of faith, drawn up by one Craig, a minister, wherein all the corruptions of Rome, as well in doctrine as outward rites, were particularly abjured; and a clause inserted, by which the subscribers did call God to witness, that in their minds and hearts they did fully agree to the said confession, and did not feign or dissemble in any sort ^m. The example of the king was followed by all his court and counsellors, and allayed in some degree the fears of the clergy; so that Morton thought he had nothing now to trust to but the friendship of Elizabeth.

The parliament, after an adjournment, having resumed its session, several acts passed in favour of the church; but the clergy still insisting that their jurisdiction, privilege, and authority, should be more precisely ascertained, a commission was given for that purpose to Morton, the chancellor Argyle, the earls of Rothes and Buchan, the archbishop of St. Andrew's, the commendators of Dumfermling, Newbottle, Deer, Culrofs, Mr. Erkin, of Dun, superintendant of Angus, Mr. John Spotswood, superintendant of Lothian, James Lawson, John Craig, and David Lindsay, ministers, with Alexander Hay, clerk of register, to assemble at Edinburgh on the 4th of April next, and to report their opinions to the king and estates, that the matters in dispute might be settled in parliament. Provisions were made for preventing the young nobility and gentry, who went abroad, from being perverted to popery, and many other popular acts passed, particularly for the relief of the poor, and the suppression of vagrants; but the former forfeitures against the Hamilton family and their friends were confirmed, and their estates were adjudged to belong for ever to the crown, unless they were included in the pacification of Perth. Some laws were likewise enacted for the benefit of trade, and particularly that the boroughs should have an exclusive privilege of traffic in the Spanish Low Countries.

James was now under the influence of two favourites, of the name of Stuart. One of them was a native of France, and son of a second brother of the earl of Lenox. He arrived in Scotland about this time, on purpose to demand the estate and title of Lenox, to which he pretend-

^m Spotswood.

ed a legal right. Within a few days after his appearance at court, he was created lord Aberbrothock, soon after earl, and then duke of Lenox, governor of Dumbarton-castle, captain of the guard, first lord of the bed-chamber, and lord high-chamberlain ; the king having already discovered that excessive attachment to favourites, which accompanied him through his whole life. The other favourite was captain James Stuart, the second son of lord Ochiltree. Both these, though differing in their character, concurred in exerting their whole address to undermine Morton's credit, which alone obstructed their full possession of power.

The public was now alarmed with the intelligence that Morton had conspired to deliver up the king to Elizabeth. He complained loudly to the king and the nobles against this imputation. The earl of Argyle, however, having returned to his old animosities, declared in the privy-council his firm persuasion of the plot. Morton insisted upon justifying himself by a trial ; but it was thought improper to permit a public investigation of a charge which might touch the honour of Elizabeth, and of which the proof must necessarily be difficult. He was informed that the king did not doubt his protestations of innocence ; and a proclamation was issued, subjecting to rigorous penalties the inventors and propagators of calumnies, which had the dangerous tendency to foment divisions between the king and the nobility. This artificial conduct, however, did not deceive the penetration of Morton ; and the privy-council immediately explained their sentiments, by entering into measures for protecting the king's person^a.

It corresponded with the insidious policy of Elizabeth A.D. 1580.
to prevent the downfall of the earl of Morton. She was convinced that Lenox meant to dissolve the amity of the two kingdoms ; and she suspected that he had obtained the government of Dumbarton-castle with the view of admitting foreign troops into Scotland, or of conveying the king into France. The apprehension of another design gave her farther inquietude : a rumour had gone abroad, that the king, by the persuasion of Lenox, had consented to surrender his kingdom to the queen his mother, under the protestation that she had been unjustly deposed by her subjects ; and that he was immediately to receive it back from her by a formal and legal deed of

^a Crawf. Mem.

resignation. In consequence of this transaction, it was dreaded by Elizabeth, that the king's rights would be universally acknowledged by his subjects, and that all their factions and divisions would be extinguished. Tormented with these jealousies she dispatched sir Robert Bowes to Scotland, with orders to charge the earl of Lenox with designs prejudicial to the peace and welfare of the two kingdoms. But this measure had no other effect than that of producing an altercation between the two courts.

The earl of Morton is charged with the murder of Darnley.

The display of Elizabeth's hostility to the earl of Lenox, joined to her known partiality for Morton, and to the dread of some dark design against the king, involved the court of Scotland in perplexity and agitation. It was dangerous any longer to delay the destruction of the earl of Morton. Captain Stuart presented himself in a convention of the privy-council at Holyrood-house; and falling upon his knees before the king, accused Morton of being one of those who conspired the death of his majesty's father. He, at the same time, imputed a concern in Darnley's murder to Archibald Douglas, of Whittingham, whom the earl of Morton had promoted to a seat in the court of session. Morton, who was present, heard this accusation with firmness, protested his innocence, and declared that he was ready to convince his majesty of the falshood of the accuser. The king immediately commanded both the parties to be removed; and an order was issued for apprehending Archibald Douglas; but having received an intimation of the danger that threatened him, he had taken the road to England. The earl of Morton, after having been confined for two days in an apartment of Holyrood-house, was conveyed under a strong guard to Edinburgh castle, and entrusted to the keeping of Alexander Erskine, his inveterate enemy; whence he was sent to be guarded in Dumbarton-castle, of which the earl of Lenox was the governor.

Elizabeth engages in intrigues to save his life.

Elizabeth was no sooner informed of the accusation against the earl of Morton, than she dispatched sir Thomas Randolph with instructions to act vigorously in his behalf. This ambassador having obtained an audience of the king, made a splendid recital of the services which had been rendered to the crown and the state by the earl of Morton; inveighed against the earl of Lenox as a deceiver and an enemy; represented the danger of a rupture with England; and displayed the advantages of breaking the ancient alliance with France. He then, in the name of Elizabeth, entreated James to restore the earl of Morton to his liberty,

ty, assuring him, at the same time, that she would be infinitely dissatisfied, if he did not comply with her request. The king, who had listened patiently to his harangue, replied, that the murder of his father was a point in which his feelings were greatly interested; and that he was certain Elizabeth could not oppose them so far as to insist upon his releasing the earl of Morton from confinement, until he should be justified by a trial.

Randolph, disappointed in his expectations of moving the king, had recourse to the convention of estates, which happened to be assembled, and he endeavoured all in his power to procure their concurrence in the request, which was the object of his embassy. But this application had no greater effect than the former; and the rude manner in which he urged his demand, even excited the indignation of the assembly.

Randolph was now convinced that the designs of his mistress could not be effected but by acts of hostility. He held secret meetings with the enemies of Lenox, and the friends of Morton; and by offers of money and men from England, he seduced the earls of Argyle, Montrose, Angus, Mar, and Glencairn, with the lords Ruthven and Lindsay, to engage in a confederacy against their sovereign. Their purpose was to procure the banishment of Lenox, and the enlargement of Morton. Their intrigues, however, having been discovered before they were ready to take the field, the majority of them were forward to forsake Randolph, and to give their influence to the earl of Lenox.

Randolph endeavours to excite a rebellion.

Intelligence being received that an English army was upon the frontiers, James put his kingdom in a posture of defence. Ten companies of chosen soldiers were kept near his person; and by a general proclamation, he commanded all the feudal and allodial militia to be in readiness to attend the royal standard. The friends of the earl of Morton were unable to oppose these formidable preparations; and Randolph, apprehensive that his practices to excite a rebellion would draw upon him the warmest indignation of the king, retired to England with the greatest precipitation.

At last, the earl of Morton was brought to his trial. A.D. 1581.
James Stuart, now created earl of Arran, his accuser, and Chrichton, the king's advocate, charged him with conspiring the death of the late king, and of being accessory in the murder. He pleaded not guilty. When the jurors were called, he objected to the earl of Argyle, the lord Seton,

*June 1.
Trial of
Morton.*

*He is con-
demned,*

Seton, and sir Patrick Hepburn, as irreconcilable enemies; but as they purged themselves upon oath of malice towards the prisoner, his objection was not admitted. As the records of the court of justiciary for that time are lost, we are somewhat in the dark as to the particulars of Morton's trial. From several evidences, however, which were produced and examined, from the depositions of the regicides who had suffered, and from papers subscribed with his own hand, it appeared that he was guilty of the charges imputed to him. The jury having withdrawn for about a quarter of an hour, returned to the court, and, by the mouth of the earl of Montrose, their chancellor, declared him to be convicted of being in the knowledge of the conspiracy against the late king, of concealing it, and of being art and part (assisting) in the murder. He heard this verdict with great agitation and surprize. Striking the ground with his cane, he exclaimed, "Art and part! art and part! God knows it is not so."

But he heard the sentence commonly pronounced upon traitors (which he was to suffer next day) with his usual intrepidity, and a disdainful smile. Being remitted to the prison, he was soon after visited by Mr. Lawson, and other clergymen. They recommended it to him to disburden his conscience, and make a full confession of his guilt. He informed them, that upon his return from England, whither he had fled after the assassination of Rizzio, the earl of Bothwell proposed to him the murder of king Henry, as an enterprize agreeable to the queen, and solicited him to take a part in it; but that he refused to join with him in that criminal measure. He acknowledged, that Bothwell continuing to urge his assistance, he desired to be satisfied by a warrant subscribed by the queen, that the plot was known to her; but that Bothwell never produced to him any authority of this kind. He confessed that Archibald Douglas had earnestly entreated him to join in the murder; and that he had given his countenance and friendship to this person, though it consisted with his certain knowledge that Douglas had actually assisted Bothwell in its execution. He knew, he said, that the conspiracy was formed, and he acknowledged that he had concealed it; but he denied that he had ever consented to its perpetration. When his confession was communicated to the king, the latter mitigated the rigour of his sentence, by giving orders that he should only be beheaded, and by allowing that his body should be interred. His behaviour upon the scaffold was full of contrition. In his private devotions he

*and exe-
cuted.*

was

was fervent; and while the attending clergymen performed the offices of religion, his sighs were frequent, and his agitation manifest. He yet approached the block with a decent firmness, and fitted himself for the fatal stroke; after receiving which, a coarse garment was thrown over his body which was deposited in the burial place of the common people.

During Morton's imprisonment, James, according to the custom of the times and country, had ordered the gentlemen of his name, and his other dependents, to give security for their good behaviour; and many of them were sent to prison, or confined within particular districts. Stuart, without the smallest pretext of any other public service than that of being the instrument of accusing Morton, obtained the earl of Arran's title and estate, which had been so unjustly forfeited, and behaved with insufferable insolence to all who approached him. In a convention of the states, which met at Edinburgh on the 20th of February, the earl of Montrose was made lieutenant of the borders; but he declined accepting the post, unless he had a guard of five hundred horse, and two hundred foot, to attend his person, beside nine hundred soldiers, who were to serve as occasion should present, and a power to summon all the gentlemen and land-holders in the neighbourhood to his assistance.

The proceedings against Morton were stained by the inhumanity of the new earl of Arran, for so he is called in history. He apprehended, and put to the torture, but without being able to obtain any particular confession, Auchinleck of Balmano, nephew to the earl of Morton. The points upon which he was questioned were concerning the death of the earl of Athol, the conspiracy for seizing the abbey of Holyrood-house, and sending the king to England, and an intention of firing the city of Edinburgh, at several quarters. One Lawson, a favourite servant to Morton, was apprehended at the same time; but he escaped the rack, by telling all he knew of the conspiracy, and by discovering the place where great part of Morton's treasure was concealed. Archibald Douglas offered to surrender himself to his trial in Scotland, provided he was not put to the rack; but the condition was refused, on pretext that it did not consist with his majesty's honour to treat with his own subject, and that his crime could be proved only by torture. All the friends of the earl of Morton who did not obey the summonses sent them, were declared guilty of treason; and the earl of Angus was ordered to retire beyond the river

tiver Spey, and to surrender the castles of Tantallon and Douglas; but whether he paid any regard to these mandates appears to be uncertain.

Ecclesiastical affairs.

While the civil government underwent so many extraordinary revolutions, the church enjoyed not tranquillity. Two objects chiefly engrossed the attention of the clergy. One was the forming a system of discipline, or ecclesiastical polity. After long labour, and many difficulties, this was at last brought to some degree of perfection. The general assembly approved of it, and appointed it to be laid before the privy council, in order to obtain the ratification of it in parliament. But Morton, during his administration, and those who afterwards governed the king, were equally unwilling to see it carried into execution; and, by occasionally starting objections, prevented it from obtaining a legal sanction. The other point in view was the abolition of the episcopal order. The bishops were so devoted to the king, to whom they owed their promotion, that the function itself was by some reckoned dangerous to civil liberty. Being allowed a seat in parliament, and distinguished by titles of honour, these not only occasioned many avocations from their spiritual employments, but soon rendered their character and manners extremely different from those of the clergy in that age. The nobles viewed their power with jealousy; the populace considered their lives as profane; and both wished their downfall with equal ardor. Attacks were made in every assembly on the order of bishops; their privileges were gradually circumscribed; and, at last, an act was passed, declaring the office of bishops, as it was then exercised, to have no foundation in the word of God; and requiring, under pain of excommunication, all who now possessed that office, instantly to resign it, and to abstain from preaching or administering the sacraments, until they should receive permission from the assembly. In this decree, however, the court did not acquiesce. A vacancy happening soon after in the see of Glasgow, one Montgomery, minister of Stirling, a man of an unpopular character, struck up an infamous bargain with Lenox, and on his recommendation was chosen archbishop. The church was in an uproar, and different ecclesiastical courts vied with each other in prosecuting him on that account. In order to screen Montgomery, James made trial both of gentle and rigorous measures; but they equally proved ineffectual. The general assembly was on the point of pronouncing against him the sentence of excommunication, when

when a herald entered, and commanded them in the king's name, and under pain of rebellion, to stop their proceedings. But they were not intimidated even by this injunction: and though Montgomery, by his tears, and seeming penitence, procured a short respite, the sentence was at last issued by their appointment, and published in all the churches of the kingdom ^a.

The pulpits resounded with the discontents of the clergy; and all the grievances under which the church and kingdom laboured, were openly imputed to Lenox and Arran. The courtiers, in their turn, complained to the king of the insolent and seditious spirit of the clergy. James, in order to check the boldness of their discourses, determined to make an example of John Drury, a preacher who had distinguished himself by the petulance of his invectives. To the great indignation of his brethren, this zealot was prohibited from preaching, separated from his flock, and banished from the capital. The people accompanied him to the gates, with tears and lamentations; and the clergy denounced the vengeance of heaven against the authors of this outrage.

The two favourites, possessing entirely the king's ear, instilled into him extravagant notions of the royal prerogative, and exercised, with the utmost wantonness, that uncontrouled power which they assumed over the nation. These circumstances irritated the impatient spirit of the Scottish nobles, who resolved to tolerate no longer the insolence of the two ministers. Elizabeth, who during the administration of the four regents, had the entire direction of the affairs of Scotland, felt herself deprived of all influence in that kingdom ever since the death of Morton, and was ready to countenance any attempt to rescue the king out of the hands of favourites, who never consulted her political views in the affairs of government. She therefore encouraged the Scottish malcontents; and a conspiracy was formed, the design of which was to hold James in captivity, and to overthrow the duke of Lenox and the earl of Arran. The chief actors in this conspiracy were the earls of Gowrie, Mar, and Glencairn, the lords Lindsay and Boyd, with the masters of Glamis and Oliphant. The king set out for Athol to take the amusements of hunting and hawking; and they were careful to accompany him. The duke of Lenox was at his palace of Dalkeith; the earl of Arran was at his seat of Kinneil; and

*The nobles
conspire
against
Lenox and
Arran.*

*The Raid
of Ruthven.*

^a Spotsw. Calderwood.

Aug. 23.

the principal members of the privy-council were preparing to hold justice-courts in different quarters of the kingdom. James, on his return towards Edinburgh, was invited by the earl of Gowrie to Ruthven-castle, which lay in his way; and, suspecting no danger, went thither in hopes of farther sport. The multitude of strangers whom he found there gave him some uneasiness, which, however, he concealed with the utmost care; and next morning, prepared for the field, expecting to find some opportunity of making his escape. But just as he was ready to depart, the conspirators entered his apartment, and presented him with a remonstrance against the illegal and oppressive conduct of his two favourites, whom they represented as most dangerous enemies to the religion and liberties of the nation. James received this remonstrance with the complaisance which was necessary in his present situation, and was extremely impatient to be gone; but as he approached the door of the apartment, the master of Glamis rudely stopped him. The king expressed the utmost indignation, and, at last, burst into tears. "No matter, said Glamis fiercely, it is better that children should weep than bearded men." These words made a deep impression on the king's mind, and were never forgotten. The conspirators, without regarding his entreaties or expostulation, dismissed such of his followers as they suspected; and though they treated him with great deference, allowed none but their own party to have access to him^b.

The two favourites were thrown into consternation by an event so unexpected, and so fatal to their authority. Lenox endeavoured, but without success, to excite the inhabitants of Edinburgh to take arms, in order to rescue their sovereign from captivity. Arran, with his usual impetuosity, immediately put himself at the head of a body of horsemen, and rode towards Ruthven-castle. Understanding that a party of the conspirators, under the command of the earl of Mar, lay in his way ready to oppose him, he separated from his companions, and with two attendants, arrived by the nearest paths at the gate of the castle. At the sight of a man so obnoxious to their resentment, the indignation of the conspirators rose, and instant death must have been the punishment of his rashness, if the friendship of Gowrie, or some other cause not explained by our historians, had not saved him from falling a sacrifice to their fury. He was confined, how-

^b Melvil.

ever, to the castle of Stirling, without being admitted into the king's presence. The latter, though really a prisoner, was obliged to publish a proclamation, declaring that he approved of their enterprize; that he was at full liberty without any restraint or violence offered to his person; and forbidding any attempt against those concerned in the Raid of Ruthven, under pretence of rescuing him out of their hands. At the same time, he commanded Lenox to leave Scotland before the 20th of September^c. Aug. 23.

Soon after, sir George Carey, and Bowes, arrived as ambassadors from Elizabeth, under pretence of enquiring after the king's safety; though their real design was to encourage the conspirators. By their intercession, the earl of Angus, who ever since the death of his uncle Morton, had lived in exile, obtained leave to return; and the accession of a nobleman so powerful and popular added strength to the faction.

Lenox, whose gentle qualities had procured him many friends, and who received private assurances that the king's favour towards him was in no degree abated, seemed resolved, at first, to pay no regard to a command, extorted by violence. But the power of his enemies, who were masters of the king's person, who were secretly supported by Elizabeth, and openly applauded by the clergy, deterred him from an enterprize which might be attended with the most dangerous consequence. He delayed his departure, however, by various artifices, in expectation either that James might make his escape from the conspirators, or that fortune might present some more favourable opportunity of taking arms for his relief.

Meanwhile, the conspirators were solicitous not only to secure the approbation of their countrymen, but to obtain some legal sanction of their enterprize. For this purpose, they published a long declaration, containing the motives which had induced them to enter on so irregular a step. They obliged the king, who could not with safety refuse any of their demands, to grant them a remission in the most ample form; and not satisfied with this, they procured from the assembly of the church an act, declaring, that they had done good and acceptable service to God, to their sovereign, and to their country; and requiring all sincere Protestants to concur with them in promoting so laudable an enterprize. A convention of estates, assembled a few days after, passed an act to the same effect, and

*Oct. 3.
The conduct
of the con-
spirators is
approved
by an
assembly,
and a con-
vention of
estates.*

^c Cald.

granted full indemnity to the conspirators for every thing they had done.

James was conducted by them, first to Stirling, and afterwards to the palace of Holyrood-house, where, though he received all the external marks of respect due to his dignity, he was still under the restraint of the conspirators.

*Lenox quits
Scotland.*

The duke of Lenox, after many delays, was at last obliged to begin his journey. The king issued the order for his departure, with no less reluctance than the duke obeyed it; and both mourned a separation, which neither of them had power to prevent. He set out by the way of England, for France; where, soon after his arrival, the fatigue of the journey, or the anguish of his mind, threw him into a fever. In his last moments, he discovered such a firm adherence to the Protestant faith, as fully vindicates his memory from the imputation of an attachment to popery, with which he had been uncharitably loaded in Scotland.

*Mary's
anxiety
about her
son.*

When intelligence of the captivity of her son reached Mary, in the prison to which she was confined, it excited all the apprehensions that could flow from the warmest emotions of a mother's affection. In the anguish of her heart, she wrote to Elizabeth, complaining in the bitterest terms of the unprecedented rigour with which she herself had been treated, and beseeching her not to abandon her son to the mercy of his rebellious subjects; nor permit him to be involved in the same misfortunes, under which she had so long groaned. The peculiar vigour and acrimony of style, for which this letter is remarkable, discover both the high spirit of the Scottish queen, unsubdued by her sufferings, and the violence of her indignation at Elizabeth's artifices and severity. But it was ill adapted to work on the mind of Elizabeth, and accordingly it neither procured any mitigation of the rigour of her own confinement, nor any interposition in favour of the king^d.

A.D. 1583.

*James
escapes out
of the hands
of the con-
spirators.*

Though James dissembled with great art, he became every day more uneasy under his confinement; nor was the interposition of the king of France of any avail towards procuring his liberty, which at last, however, he was enabled by his own vigilance to effect. As the conspirators had forced Lenox out of the kingdom, and kept Arran at a distance from court, they grew secure, and watched the king with little care. Under pretence of

^d Camden.

paying a visit to the earl of March his grand uncle, James was permitted to go from Falkland to St. Andrew's. That he might not create any suspicion, he lodged at first in an open defenceless house in the town, but pretending a curiosity to see the castle, no sooner was he entered with some of his attendants whom he could trust, than colonel William Stuart, the commander of the band of gentlemen who guarded the king's person, ordered the gates to be shut. Next morning, the earls of Argyle, Huntley, Crawford, Montrose, Rothes, with others to whom the secret had been communicated, entered the town with their followers; and though Mar, with several leaders of the faction, appeared in arms, they found themselves so far out-numbered, that it was in vain to think of recovering possession of the king's person. June 27.

The joy which James felt at his escape, broke into a fallacy of youthful triumph; but he resolved, by the advice of sir James Melvil, and his wisest counsellors, to act with the utmost moderation. He issued a proclamation, in which he invited the conspirators to accept his mercy, and called upon his people to bury their contentions in oblivion. As a proof of his sincerity, he visited the earl of Gowrie at Ruthven-castle, and granted him a full pardon of any guilt he had contracted, by the crime committed in that very place. *He resolves to proceed with moderation.*

The clemency and gentleness of the king were disregarded by the conspirators, who persevered in the resolution of opposing his authority; and sir Robert Bowes, the English ambassador, gave them hopes of the speedy interference of Elizabeth. The earl of Arran having resumed the exercise of ministerial power, they affected to suspect the sincerity of James; and the king issued an order, by which he enjoined them to enter themselves into confinement in particular places; but all of them, the earl of Angus excepted, disobeying his mandate, they were denounced to be rebels. A proclamation was published, by which the king commanded his subjects to be in readiness to take the field; and an oath was exacted from his domestics, that they should maintain no correspondence with his enemies. *The discontented nobles refuse to accept his clemency.*

Elizabeth, who had all along protected the conspirators, was extremely disgusted with measures which tended so visibly to their destruction; and indulging the peevishness of her humour, she took the liberty to write to the king a haughty letter, in which she reproached him with separating himself from men whom she represented to be *The king pursues another plan.*

Aug. 7.
Elizabeth interposes in behalf of the conspirators.

the most deserving of his subjects ; and as, in the time of his captivity, he had promised never to admit the earl of Arran again into his confidence, she ventured to charge him with a direct breach of faith. James, with a becoming dignity, replied, that promises extorted by violence, and conditions yielded out of fear, could never be considered as any inviolable obligation ; that it belonged to him alone to choose what ministers he would employ in his service ; and that, though he resolved to treat the conspirators at Ruthven with the utmost clemency, it was indispensable, for the support of his authority, that such an insult on his person should not pass altogether uncensured.

Sept. 1.
Walsingham's embassy.

Elizabeth's letter was quickly followed by Walsingham, her secretary, who was admitted to several conferences with James himself, in which he insisted on the same topics which were contained in the letter, and the king repeated his former answers ; so that Walsingham, after suffering several indignities, from the arrogant behaviour of Arran and his creatures, returned to England without concluding any new treaty.

Elizabeth's eagerness to protect the conspirators rendered James more violent in his proceedings against them. As they all had refused to accept of the pardon, upon the terms which he had offered, they were required, by a new proclamation, to surrender themselves prisoners. The earl of Angus alone complied ; the rest either fled into England, or obtained the king's licence to retire into foreign parts. A convention of estates was held, the members of which declared those concerned in the Raid of Ruthven to have been guilty of high treason ; appointed the act passed last year approving of their conduct, to be expunged out the records ; and engaged to support the king in prosecuting the fugitives with the utmost rigour of law.

The clergy favour the conspirators, and irritate the king.

The favour bestowed upon Arran, a man of a profligate character, and the rigorous prosecution of those nobles who had been zealous defenders of the protestant cause, were considered by the clergy as sure prefaces of the approaching ruin of the church ; nor could they conceal their apprehensions. Drury, who had been restored to his office as one of the ministers of Edinburgh, openly applauded the Raid of Ruthven in the pulpit ; at which the king was so enraged, that, notwithstanding some symptoms of submission, he commanded him to resign his pastoral charge. The behaviour of Mr. Andrew Melvil was more stubborn and resolute ; for he had encouraged
the

the people to seek for a redress of their grievances by resistance and the sword. When he was carried before the privy-council, he affected to vindicate himself by the authority of the Scriptures, and he formally declined the jurisdiction of the civil power. The king, jealous to excess of his prerogative, was alarmed at this daring encroachment on it; and as Melvil, by his learning and zeal, had acquired the reputation of head of the party, he was resolved to punish this delinquent with a rigour which might deter others from following so dangerous an example. Melvil, however, avoided his rage, by flying into England; and the pulpits resounded with complaints that the king had extinguished the light of learning in the kingdom, and that the firmest champion of the reformed doctrines was driven into exile.

A.D 1584.

The conspirators, while their cause was supported by the violent declamations of the clergy, still possessed great influence with the people; and as they had every thing to fear from the resentment of a young prince, instigated by the furious councils of Arran, they continually solicited their adherents to take arms in their defence. Gowrie, the only person among them who had submitted to the king, and accepted of a pardon, soon repented of his conduct; and, after suffering many mortifications from the king's neglect, and the haughtiness of Arran, he was at last commanded to leave Scotland, and to reside in France. While he waited at Dundee for an opportunity to embark, he was informed that some of his old confederates had concerted a scheme for surprising the castle of Stirling, and, in his situation, little persuasion was necessary to engage his assistance. Under various pretences, he delayed his voyage, and kept himself in readiness to take arms on the day fixed for the execution of the enterprise. His lingering so long at Dundee, on frivolous pretexts, awakened the suspicion of the court, proved fatal to himself, and disappointed the success of the conspiracy. The house in which he lodged was surrounded by a body of soldiers, and he was made prisoner. Two days after, Angus, Mar, and Glamis, seized the castle of Stirling; but the account of Gowrie's imprisonment threw them into despondency. They imputed it to treachery on his part, and suspected that as he had formerly deserted, he had now betrayed them. They were farther discouraged by a disappointment of a sum of money, with which Elizabeth had promised to supply them: and as the king advanced towards them at the head of twenty thousand men,

they fled precipitately towards England, and made their escape. This transaction added strength and reputation to the king, confirmed Arran's power, and enabled them to pursue their measures with greater vigour^c.

A parliament.

Severe laws against the church.

The king's next step was to humble the exorbitant power of the clergy. For this purpose he summoned a parliament, which, as so many of the nobles were banished out of the kingdom, or forbidden to appear in the king's presence, and as others were kept at a distance by the haughtiness of Arran, consisted only of those who were at the devotion of the court. In this assembly, such laws were passed, as totally overturned the constitution and discipline of the church. The refusing to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the privy-council, the pretending an exemption from the authority of the civil courts, the attempting to diminish the rights and privileges of any of the three estates in parliament, were declared to be high-treason. The holding assemblies, whether civil or ecclesiastical, without the king's permission or appointment; the uttering, either privately or publicly, in sermons, or in declamations, any false or scandalous reports against the king, his ancestors, or ministers, were pronounced capital crimes.

When these laws were, according to ancient custom, published at the Cross of Edinburgh, Mr. Robert Pont, minister of St. Cuthbert's, and one of the lords of session, solemnly protested, in the name of the church, that it dissented from them, and that they were consequently invalid. The alarm was universal, and the complaints loud. All the ministers of Edinburgh forsook their charge, and fled into England. The most eminent clergymen throughout the kingdom imitated their example. The people were thrown into consternation. They openly expressed their rage against Arran, and began to suspect the king himself to be an enemy to the reformed religion.

Elizabeth endeavours to gain the earl of Arran.

Elizabeth, being at this time under some apprehension of an invasion from Spain, determined to use her utmost efforts, in order to recover that influence over the Scottish councils, which she had for some time entirely lost. With this view she sent into Scotland Davison, one of her principal secretaries, a man of abilities and address. A minister so venal as Arran accepted Elizabeth's offers without hesitation, and esteemed her protection to be the best security of his own greatness. He promised an inviolable

^c Crawf. Mem. Spotsw.

attachment to the English interest, and assured the ambassador, that James should enter into no negotiation, which might tend to interrupt the peace between the two kingdoms.

The banished lords and their adherents soon felt the effects of Arran's friendship with England. That minister being now free from any apprehension that Elizabeth would interfere in the protection of those exiles, now ventured to carry matters to extremities against them. James summoned a parliament, in which was passed an act, attainting Angus, Mar, Glamis, and a great number of their followers. Their estates devolved to the crown, and according to the practice of the Scottish monarchs, who were obliged to reward the faction that adhered to them, by dividing with it the spoils of the vanquished. James gave the greater part of these to Arran, and his associates. The treatment of the clergy was no less rigorous. All ministers, readers, and professors of colleges, were enjoined to subscribe, within forty days, a paper, testifying their approbation of the laws concerning the church, enacted in the last parliament. Many, overawed, or corrupted by the court, yielded obedience; others stood out. The stipends of the latter were sequestered, some of the more active committed to prison, and numbers compelled to fly the kingdom. The judicatories of the church were almost entirely suppressed. In some places, there scarcely remained ministers to perform the duties of religious worship^f.

Severe proceedings against the banished lords.

Meanwhile Elizabeth was carrying on one of those fruitless negotiations with the queen of Scots, which it had been almost matter of form to renew every year. They served not only to amuse that unhappy princess with some prospect of liberty; but furnished an apology for eluding the solicitations of foreign powers in her behalf; and were of use to over-awe James, by showing him, that she could, at any time, set free a dangerous rival to dispute his authority. These treaties she suffered to proceed to what length she pleased, and never wanted a pretence for breaking them off, when they became no longer necessary. But instead of granting Mary any mitigation of the hardships of which she complained, Elizabeth now resolved to take her out of the hands of the earl of Shrewsbury, and to appoint sir Amias Pawlet and sir Drue Drury to be her keepers. Shrewsbury had discharged his trust with

Mary is treated with great rigour.

^f Crawf. Mem. . Spotsw.

great fidelity, during fifteen years; but, at the same time, had treated Mary with gentleness and respect, and had always sweetened harsh commands, by the humanity with which he put them in execution. The same politeness was not to be expected from her new keepers, whose severe vigilance, perhaps, was their chief recommendation to that employment.

As James was anxious to deprive the banished lords of Elizabeth's protection, he appointed the master of Gray his ambassador to the court of England, and intrusted him with the conduct of a negotiation for that purpose. Elizabeth, who had an admirable dexterity in discovering the proper instruments for carrying on her designs, endeavoured, by caresses and by presents, to secure Gray to her interest. He abandoned himself, without reserve, to Elizabeth's directions, and not only undertook to retain the king under the influence of England, but acted as a spy upon the Scottish queen, and betrayed to her rival every secret that he could draw from her by his high professions of zeal in her service.

Gray, a new favourite of the king's.

A.D. 1585.

Parry's conspiracy against Elizabeth.

While Elizabeth was plotting with great art the destruction of Mary, a frivolous and fantastical man had conspired to take away her own life. Parry, a doctor of laws, and a member of the house of commons, had lately been reconciled to the church of Rome; and in the zeal of his new conversion, offered to demonstrate his attachment to the Romish religion, by killing Elizabeth. His intention was at last discovered by Nevil, the only person in England to whom he had communicated it; and himself having confessed his guilt, he suffered the punishment which it deserved.

A severe statute, which proved fatal to Mary.

This, joined to the rumour of other conspiracies, awakened the indignation of the English parliament, and produced a very extraordinary statute, which, in the end, proved fatal to the queen of Scots. By this law it was enacted, "that if any rebellion shall be excited in the kingdom, or any thing attempted to the hurt of her majesty's person, by or for any person pretending a title to the crown, the queen shall empower twenty-four persons, by a commission under the great-seal, to examine into, and pass sentence upon such offences; and after judgment given, a proclamation shall be issued, declaring the persons whom they find guilty, excluded from any right to the crown; and her majesty's subjects may lawfully pursue

every one of them to the death, with all their aiders and abettors: and if any design against the life of the queen take effect, the persons, by or for whom, such a detestable act is executed, and their issues, being any wise assenting or privy to the same, shall be disabled for ever from pretending to the crown, and be pursued to death in the like manner." This act was plainly levelled at the queen of Scots, and cannot easily be reconciled with the general principles of justice or humanity. By it, Mary was rendered accountable not only for her own actions, but for those of others; in consequence of which, she might forfeit her right of succession, and even her life itself.

Mary justly considered this act as a warning to prepare for the worst extremities. Elizabeth's ministers, it is probable, had resolved, by this time, to take away her life; and suffered books to be published, in order to persuade the nation, that this cruel and unprecedented measure was not only necessary, but just. Even that short period of her days which remained, they embittered by every hardship and indignity which it was in their power to inflict. Almost all her servants were dismissed; she was treated no longer with the respect due to a queen; and though the rigour of seventeen years imprisonment had broken her constitution, she was confined to two ruinous chambers, scarce habitable, even in the middle of summer, by reason of cold. Notwithstanding the scantiness of her revenue, she had been accustomed to distribute regularly some alms among the poor in the village adjoining to the castle. Paullet, now, refused her liberty to perform this pious and humane office, which had afforded her great consolation amidst her own sufferings. The castle in which he resided was converted into a common prison; and a young man suspected of popery, was confined there, and treated, under her eye, with such rigour, that he died of the ill usage. She often complained to Elizabeth of these multiplied injuries, and expostulated as became a woman and a queen; but as no political reason now obliged that princess to amuse her any longer with fallacious hopes, far from granting her any redress, she did not even deign to give her any answer. The king of France, now closely allied to Elizabeth, was afraid of espousing Mary's cause, with any warmth; but Castlenau, the French ambassador, whose compassion and zeal for the unhappy queen supplied the defects of his instructions, remonstrated with such vigour against the indignities to which she was exposed, that, by his importunity, he prevailed at length to have her removed

*The rigour
of her
treatment
is increased.*

moved to Tutbury; though she was confined, the greater part of another winter, in her present wretched habitation ^h.

*A breach
between
Mary and
her son.*

March 24.

But nothing made so much impression on Mary as the ingratitude of her son. James had hitherto treated his mother with filial respect, and had even entered with her into negotiations, which gave umbrage to Elizabeth. But Gray, who, on his return into Scotland, found his favour with the king greatly increased by the success of his embassy, persuaded him to write to his mother a harsh and undutiful letter, in which he expressly refused to acknowledge her to be queen of Scotland, or to consider his affairs as connected, in any manner, with her's. This cruel requital of her maternal tenderness overwhelmed Mary with sorrow and despair. "Was it for this," said she, in a letter to the French ambassador, "that I have endured so much, in order to preserve for him the inheritance, to which I have a just right? I am far from envying his authority in Scotland. I desire no power there; nor wish to set my foot in that kingdom, if it were not for the pleasure of once embracing a son, whom I have hitherto loved with too tender affection. Whatever he either enjoys or expects, he derived it from me. From him, I never received assistance, supply, or benefit, of any kind. Let not my allies treat him any longer as a king; he holds that dignity not by my consent; and if a speedy repentance does not appease my just resentment, I will load him with a parent's curse, and surrender my crown, with all my pretensions, to one, who will receive them with gratitude, and defend them with vigour." The love which James bore to his mother, whom he had never known, nay whom he had been early taught to consider as the most abandoned person of her sex, cannot be supposed ever to have been ardent; and he did not now take any pains to regain her favour. But whether her indignation at his undutiful behaviour, added to her strong attachment to popery, prompted Mary at any time to think seriously of disinheriting her son; or whether these threatenings were uttered in a fallacy of disappointed affection, it is now not easy to determine.

Mary's peace was disturbed, not only by the machinations of her domestic enemies, but by the efforts of her friends on the continent. The pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Guise, had concluded a formal alliance,

^h Melvil.

called the holy league; in opposition to which, Elizabeth endeavoured to form a general league of the protestant princes. She determined to proceed with the utmost rigour against the queen of Scots, whose sufferings and rights afforded foreign powers a specious pretence for invading her dominions. She resolved to exert her utmost efforts in order to effect a closer union with Scotland, and to extend her influence over the councils of that nation. Her measures were readily seconded by most of the Scottish courtiers. Gray, sir John Maitland, secretary, and sir Lewis Bellenden, justice-clerk, who had succeeded Gray as the king's resident at London, were the persons in whom she chiefly confided. In order to direct and quicken their motions, she dispatched sir Edward Wotton along with Bellenden into Scotland. This man was gay, well bred, and entertaining; and under the veil of superficial accomplishments, concealed a spirit of political intrigue. He soon grew into high favour with James, and acquired an influence over the public councils, to a degree which was both dangerous and indecent for a stranger to possess. Nothing, however, could be more acceptable to the nation, than the proposal he made of a strict alliance between the two kingdoms, in defence of the reformed religion. But the alacrity with which James concurred in this measure, may be in part ascribed to the liberality of Elizabeth. As a mark of her attachment to the young king, she settled on him, an annual pension of five thousand pounds; the same sum which her father had allotted her before she ascended the throne, and which, in that age, was far from being inconsiderable.

Elizabeth resolves to punish Mary, and to gain the king.

But the chief object of Wotton's intrigues, was to ruin Arran. Though this favourite appeared extremely for the interest of Elizabeth, she could place no great confidence in a man whose conduct was so capricious and irregular, and who, notwithstanding his protestations to the contrary, continued a secret correspondence both with Mary, and with the duke of Guise. The banished lords were attached to England from affection, as well as principle, and were the only persons among the Scots whom, in any dangerous exigency, she could thoroughly trust. She was, therefore, anxious for restoring them to their country; and Wotton had instructions to prosecute the plan which had been concerted for that purpose. Beside these measures, Wotton meditated a plot of greater importance. He had contrived to seize the king, and to carry him by force into England; but the design

was

was happily discovered; and, in order to avoid the punishment which his treachery merited, he departed without taking leaveⁱ.

The banished lords return to Scotland, and are reconciled to the king.

Meanwhile the banished lords hastened the execution of their enterprize; and, as their friends and vassals were now ready to join them, they entered Scotland. Wherever they came, they were welcomed as the deliverers of their country. They advanced rapidly towards Stirling, at the head of ten thousand men. The king, though he had assembled an army superior in number, could not venture to meet them in the field with troops, who, at best, were far from being hearty in the royal cause. Neither was the town or castle provided for a siege. The gates, however, of both were shut, and the nobles encamped at St. Ninian's. That same night they surprized the town, or more probably it was betrayed into their hands; and Arran, who had undertaken to defend it, was obliged to save himself by a precipitate flight. Next morning they invested the castle, in which there were not provisions for twenty-four hours; and James was under the necessity of hearkening, without delay, to terms of accommodation. They obtained a pardon in the most ample form, of all the offences they had committed; the principal forts in the kingdom were, by way of security, put into their hands; Crawford, Montrose, and colonel Stuart were removed from the king's presence; and a

Nov. 2.

parliament was called, to establish the public tranquillity. In this assembly, an act passed for restoring to the confederate nobles their honours and estates, and ratifying the pardon granted to them by the king. Though a great majority of the parliament consisted of those men and their adherents, they seemed willing to forget all past errors in the government, and spared James the mortification of seeing his ministers branded with any mark of public censure. Arran, alone, deprived of all his honours, stripped of his borrowed spoils, and declared an enemy to his country by public proclamation, sunk back into obscurity, and is henceforth mentioned by his primitive title of captain James Stuart.

Dec. 10.
A parliament.

Disgrace of Arran.

A.D. 1586.

Soon after, a general assembly was held, in which the king, with some difficulty, obtained an act, permitting the name and office of a bishop to continue in the church. The power of the order, however, was considerably retrenched; the exercise of discipline, and the inspection of

the life and doctrine of the clergy, being committed to the presbyteries, in which bishops should be allowed no other pre-eminence but that of presiding as perpetual moderators. They themselves were declared to be subject, in the same manner as other pastors, to the jurisdiction of the general assembly^k.

The influence of Elizabeth on the court of Scotland was now more powerful than that of James himself; and his ministers were eager to conclude the treaty of alliance, which had been opened by the intrigues of sir Edward Wotton. The tenor of this treaty corresponded, in a peculiar degree, with the situation and the views of Elizabeth; at the same time that James was gratified with a declaration in favour of his eventual succession to her dominions.

James, who ought not to have concluded any league with Elizabeth without the participation of Mary, or without stipulations to her advantage, was, about this time, seduced into measures which throw a farther stain on his filial piety. Archibald Douglas had been deeply concerned in the murder of lord Darnley. By the confession of the earl of Morton, it appeared, that he was not only a party in the conspiracy against the king's father, but that he had assisted at his murder. John Binning, his own servant, who was executed as a regicide, had also given testimony against him in the clearest and most express manner; and there were other evidences of his criminality. When the earl of Morton was imprisoned, he accordingly, from a consciousness of guilt, fled into England, where he was protected by Elizabeth. When the discontented nobles were in exile, he had won their friendship by assiduities and attention; and upon their return to Scotland, they undertook to procure his pardon from James. He now obtained a licence from the king to return into Scotland; and after undergoing a mock-trial, calculated to conceal rather than detect his guilt, he was not only taken into favour by James, but sent back to the court of England, with the character of his ambassador. This concession of James must be imputed to the extreme facility of his temper, which often led him to gratify his courtiers at the expence of his own dignity and reputation.

Not long after this event, the inconsiderate affection of the English Catholics towards Mary, and their implacable

A league with England.

Acquittal of Archibald Douglas.

Babington's conspiracy against Elizabeth.

^k Cald. Spotsw.

resentment against Elizabeth, gave rise to a conspiracy, which produced one of the most extraordinary incidents that occur in the annals of human kind.

Some priests, who had been educated in the seminary at Rheims, had adopted an extravagant notion, that the bull of Pius V. against Elizabeth, was dictated immediately by the Holy Ghost. This wild opinion they instilled into Savage, an officer in the Spanish army, noted for his furious zeal, and daring courage; and persuaded him that no service could be so acceptable to Heaven, as to take away the life of an excommunicated heretic. Savage, eager to obtain the crown of martyrdom, bound himself by a solemn vow to kill Elizabeth. Ballard, a trafficking priest, had at that time come over to Paris, and solicited Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador there, to procure an invasion of England, while the kingdom was left naked by Elizabeth's sending so many of her best troops into the Netherlands. Paget and the English exiles demonstrated the fruitlessness of such an attempt, unless Elizabeth were first cut off, or the invaders secured of a powerful concurrence on their landing. If either of those events should happen, effectual aid was promised; and in the mean time Ballard was sent back to renew his intrigues.

He communicated his designs to Anthony Babington, a young gentleman in Derbyshire, of a plentiful fortune, and many amiable qualities, who having contracted, during his residence in France, an intimacy with the archbishop of Glasgow, had been recommended by him to the queen of Scots. He concurred with Paget in considering the death of Elizabeth as a necessary preliminary to an invasion; but thought the attempt of too much importance to rely on one person for the execution of it, and proposed that five resolute gentlemen should be joined with Savage, in an enterprize, the success of which was the foundation of all their hopes. Babington, therefore, in the prosecution of these views, employed himself in increasing the number of his associates; and he secretly drew into his conspiracy many catholic gentlemen, discontented with the present government. Barnwel, of a noble family in Ireland, Charnock, a gentleman of Lancashire, and Abington, whose father had been cofferer to the household, readily undertook the assassination of the queen. Charles Tilney, the heir of an ancient family, and Titchborne of Southampton, when the design was proposed to them, expressed some scruples, which were removed by the arguments of Babington

Babington and Ballard. Savage refused during some time to share the glory of the enterprize with any others; and it was with some difficulty he was induced to relinquish this presumptuous ambition.

The deliverance of the queen of Scots, at the very instant when Elizabeth should be assassinated, was requisite for effecting the purpose of the conspirators; and Babington undertook, with a party of a hundred horse, to attack her guards, while she should be taking the air on horseback. The conspirators trusted, that the great events of Elizabeth's death, and Mary's deliverance, would rouse all the zealous Catholics to arms; and that foreign forces, taking advantage of the general confusion, would easily fix the queen of Scots on the throne, and re-establish the ancient religion.

These desperate projects had not escaped the vigilance of Elizabeth's council, particularly of Walsingham. Polly, one of his spies, had found means to insinuate himself among the conspirators, and had obtained some distant intimation of their designs. But the bottom of the conspiracy was never fully known, until Gifford, a seminary priest, came over into England, and made a tender of his services to Walsingham¹.

Elizabeth and her ministers were now possessed of sufficient documents concerning the conspiracy; and at this period they would have taken its projectors into custody, if to punish the conspirators, and defeat their designs, had been the only purposes of the English council. But Elizabeth was desirous to involve the queen of Scots in the guilt of Babington and his associates, in order to furnish a pretence for executing against her the last act of severity and vengeance. Mary had been removed to the castle of Chartley, in Staffordshire; and thither Walsingham dispatched Gifford, with instructions to commence a correspondence with her. To facilitate this artifice, he wrote a letter to sir Amias Paulet, requesting him to permit Gifford to bribe one of his servants. Paulet, however, from jealousy, or from virtue, refused to grant this request; and Gifford corrupted a brewer in the neighbourhood, who put his letters to Mary in a hole in the castle-wall. By the same conveyance it was expected that answers would be received to them. Mary, however, had been secretly admonished by her friends in France, not to take any steps in this conspiracy, and carefully to avoid

¹ Strype.

any intelligence with its projectors. From the late act of the English parliament, she was impressed with a conviction, that a pretext only was wanted to conclude her distresses by taking away her life. She was not in a humour to give any countenance to uncertain and hazardous projects; and the letters of Gifford, there is reason to presume, were unobserved or neglected by her; for there exists not any evidence from which it can be inferred that she had attended to them. But this disappointment was remedied by Walsingham's activity. Nau and Curl, the secretaries of Mary, were strangers, and in a state of precarious dependence. The treasury of Elizabeth was full and powerful. It was contrived, that answers, in the name of the queen of Scots, to the letters of Gifford, should be found in the hole of the castle-wall. By this method it was easy to multiply evidences to her prejudice; and in her supposed packets to Gifford were inclosed letters from her to Babington, Mendoza, the lord Paget, Charles Paget his brother, the archbishop of Glasgow, and sir Francis Englefield. Walsingham, to whom those letters were carried, affected formally to decypher them, by the aid of Thomas Philips, a person skilful in matters of this kind; and after exact copies were taken of them, it is said they were all artfully sealed up, and sent away to be delivered according to their superscriptions. It appears, however, that only the letters to Babington were sent. This might be managed by the contrivance of Gifford; and the dispatches from him in return to the queen of Scots, were, by the same agency, communicated to sir Francis Walsingham^m.

A foundation being now established upon which to build the guilt of the queen of Scots, it was not necessary to delay any longer the suppression of the conspiracy. An order was therefore issued for apprehending Ballard. The conspirators were thrown into amazement; but it being understood that he was seized as a popish priest, and not as an associate in the plot, their uneasiness abated. Babington, in the first moments of his terror, counselled Savage and Charnock to execute instantly the murder. Departing, however, from this resolution, he pressed sir Francis Walsingham more earnestly than ever for a licence to travel; but this artful statesman, renewing his caresses, affected a desire to have farther conferences with him on the subject of his intended journey. He even allured

^m Strype.

Babington to lodge in his house; and by this means he had the best opportunity of putting a watch upon him. In this state of things, Walsingham addressed a note from the court to Scudamore, a companion of Babington, whom he had engaged to keep a careful eye on his motions. This note contained an advice to him to redouble his diligence in attending to his charge; and when he received it, Babington, being seated at the same board, perused it along with him. A conviction that all his practices were now discovered, struck this conspirator; and it was with difficulty he could disguise his uneasiness. He hastened to give the alarm to his associates; and all of them took to flight. But Windsor alone was able to elude every search. The rest being dragged from their hiding-places, were committed to prison; and as their confession contained impeachments of one another, a complete evidence of their criminal combination was collected. Their trial was hastened, and all of them suffered the death of traitors.

The English ministers were loud in their reproaches against the queen of Scots. They imputed to her the infamy of encouraging Babington and his associates in their scheme of assassinating Elizabeth; and they kept alive the terror of an impending invasion. The people were affected with apprehensions for their sovereign, their country, and their religion; and the popularity of Mary was deeply wounded.

Mary is charged with Babington's conspiracy.

Meanwhile, the Scottish princess, eagerly watched by Paulet, and altogether unacquainted with the late occurrences, and with the abusive declamations of her enemies, received a visit from sir Thomas Gorges. This envoy, as instructed by Elizabeth, surprised her when she had mounted her horse to go an airing. His salutation was abrupt and unceremonious; and after informing her of the discovery and circumstances of the conspiracy of Babington, he rudely charged her with a concern in it. She was struck with astonishment, and would have returned to her apartment, but was not permitted; and after being carried about, for some days, from one house to another, in anxious uncertainty, she was committed to Fotheringay-castle, in Northamptonshire. Nau and Curl, her two secretaries, the former a Frenchman, the latter a native of Scotland, were taken into custody. Paulet, breaking open the doors of her private closet, possessed himself of her money, which amounted not to more than seven thousand crowns. Her cabinets were carefully seal-

She is carried to Fotheringay-castle; and her domestics and papers are seized.

ed up, and being sent to London, were examined in the presence of Elizabeth. They contained many dispatches from persons beyond sea, copies of letters which had been dictated by her, and about sixty tablets of cyphers and characters. In them were also found dispatches to her from English noblemen, which were full of admiration and respect. These Elizabeth concealed; but their authors, suspecting that they were known, sought to purchase her forgiveness by the most abject protestations of an attachment to her person, and by the exercise of the most virulent enmity against the queen of Scots. Nau and Curl declared that the copies of her letters were in their hand-writing. They had been dictated by her in the French language to Nau, translated into English by Curl, and then put into cypher. They, however, contained nothing with which she could be reproached or criminated. It was upon the foundation of the letters which Gifford had communicated to Walsingham, that her guilt was to be inferred; and with copies of these, and with an attested account of the conspiracy of Babington and his associates, sir Edward Wotton was now dispatched into France, to accuse her to Henry III. and to explain to that prince the dangers to which Elizabeth was exposed from the machinations and practices of the English exiles.

A resolution is taken to proceed against her by a public trial.

The privy-counsellors of Elizabeth deliberated upon the most proper method of proceeding against Mary. To some it appeared, that, as she was only accessory to the plot, and not the designer of it, the most eligible severity to be exercised against her was a more rigorous confinement; and they endeavoured to fortify this opinion, by observing, that she was sickly, and therefore could not live long. Others, who were haunted by the terrors of popery, urged that she ought to be put instantly to death by the formalities of the law. The earl of Leicester recommended it as most prudent to dispatch her secretly by poison; but this counsel was rejected as mean, disgraceful, and violent. The lawyers were of opinion that she might be tried upon the statute of Edward III. by which it was enacted to be treason to imagine the destruction of the sovereign, to make war against his kingdom, or to adhere to his enemies. Elizabeth, however, and her ministers, had provided a more plausible foundation for her trial: this was the parliamentary statute approving the act of association. As it had been passed while Mary was in England, it was argued, that she was bound by it in a local allegiance to Elizabeth. The next point of debate

was the designation, under which it was most adviseable to arraign her. To employ a foreign name and title as directly descriptive of her, was not judged to be consistent with the law of England. It was therefore resolved to design her, "Mary, daughter and heir of James V. king of Scotland, and commonly called Queen of Scots, and dowager of France."

After the many indignities which she had lately suffered, Mary could no longer doubt but that her destruction was determined. She expected, every moment, to end her days by poison, or by some of those secret means usually employed against princes. And, lest the malice of her enemies, at the same time that it deprived her of life, should endeavour likewise to blast her reputation, she wrote to the duke of Guise, and vindicated herself, in the strongest terms, from the imputation of encouraging, or of being accessary to the conspiracy for assassinating Elizabeth. In the solitude of her prison, the strange resolution of bringing her to a public trial had not reached her ears, nor did the idea of any thing so unprecedented, or so repugnant to regal majesty, once enter into her thoughts.

On the 11th of October, the commissioners appointed by Elizabeth arrived at Fotheringay. Next morning, they delivered a letter from her to Mary, in which, after the bitterest reproaches and accusations, she informed her, that regard to her own safety had at last rendered it necessary to make a public inquiry into her conduct, and therefore required her, as she had lived so long under the protection of the laws of England, to submit now to the trial, which they ordained to be taken of her crimes. Mary, though surpris'd at the message, was neither appalled at the danger, nor unmindful of her own dignity. She protested, in the most solemn manner, that she was innocent of the crime laid to her charge, and had never countenanced any attempt against the life of the queen of England; but at the same time refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of her commissioners. "I came into the kingdom," said she, "an independent sovereign, to implore the queen's assistance, not to subject myself to her authority. Nor is my spirit so broken by its past misfortunes, or so intimidated by present dangers, as to stoop to any thing unbecoming the majesty of a crowned head, or that will disgrace the ancestors from whom I am descended, and the son to whom I shall leave my throne. If I must be tried, princes alone can be my peers." The

*The trial
at Fother-
ingay.*

queen of England's subjects, however noble their birth may be, are of a rank inferior to mine. Ever since my arrival in this kingdom, I have been confined as a prisoner. Its laws never afforded me any protection. Let them not now be perverted, in order to take away my life."

The commissioners employed arguments and entreaties to overcome Mary's resolution. They even threatened to proceed according to the forms of law, and to pass sentence against her on account of her contumacy in refusing to plead. She persisted, however, for two days to decline their jurisdiction; but an argument urged by Hatton, the vice-chamberlain, at last prevailed. He told her, that by avoiding a trial, she injured her own reputation, and deprived herself of the only opportunity of setting her innocence in a clear light; and that nothing would be more agreeable to them, or more acceptable to the queen their mistress, than to be convinced, by undoubted evidence, that she had been injuriously aspersed. No wonder pretexts so plausible should impose on the unwary queen, or that she, unassisted, at that time, by any friend or counsellor, should not be able to detect and elude all the artifices of Elizabeth and her ministers. But if Mary deviated from her first resolution, it must be imputed solely to her anxious desire of vindicating her own honour.

Oct. 14.

At her appearance before the judges, who were seated in the great hall of the castle, where they received her with much ceremony, she took care to protest, that by condescending to hear and to give an answer to the accusation, which should be offered against her, she neither acknowledged the jurisdiction of the court, nor admitted the validity and justice of those acts, by which they pretended to try her. The chancellor, by a counter-protestation, endeavoured to vindicate the authority of the court.

*The accusation
against her.*

Elizabeth's attorney and solicitor then opened the charge against her, with all the circumstances of the late conspiracy. Copies of her letters to Mendoza, Babington, Englefield, and Paget, were produced. Babington's confession, those of Ballard, Savage, and the other conspirators, with the declarations of Nau and Curl, her secretaries, were read, and the whole arranged with all the art, and enforced with all the eloquence, in the power of the lawyers to display.

Mary listened to their harangues attentively, and without emotion. But at the mention of the earl of Arundel's

del's name, who was then confined in the Tower, on suspicion of being accessary to the conspiracy, she broke out into this tender and generous exclamation: "Alas! how much has the noble house of Howard suffered for my sake!"

When Elizabeth's counsel had finished, Mary stood up, and with great magnanimity, and equal presence of mind, began her defence. She bewailed the unhappiness of her own situation, that, after a captivity of nineteen years, during which she had suffered treatment equally cruel and unmerited, she was at last loaded with an accusation, which tended not only to rob her of her right of succession, and to deprive her even of life, but to transmit her name with infamy to future ages: that without regarding the sacred rights of sovereignty, she was now subjected to laws framed against private persons; though an anointed queen, commanded to appear before the tribunal of subjects; and that even in this dishonourable situation, she was denied the privileges usually granted to criminals, and obliged to undertake her own defence, without the presence of any friend with whom to advise, without the aid of any counsel, and without the use of her own papers. She then proceeded to the particular articles in the accusation. She absolutely denied any correspondence with Babington. The name of Ballard was not so much as known to her. Copies only of her pretended letters to them were produced; though nothing less than her hand writing or subscription was sufficient to convict her of such a crime. No proof could be brought that the letters were delivered into her hands; or that any answer was returned by her direction. The confessions of wretches condemned and executed for so detestable an action, were of little weight. Fear or hope might extort from them many things inconsistent with truth; nor ought the honour of a queen to be stained by such vile testimony. The declaration of her secretaries was not more conclusive. Promises or threats might easily overcome the resolution of two strangers. In order to screen themselves, they might throw the blame on her; but they could discover nothing to her prejudice, without violating, in the first place, their oath of fidelity; and their perjury, in one instance, rendered them unworthy of credit in another. The letters to the Spanish ambassador were either nothing more than copies, or contained only what was perfectly inno-

Her defence.

cent. "I have often," continued she, "made such efforts for the recovery of my liberty, as are natural to a human creature. And convinced, by the sad experience of so many years, that it was vain to expect it from the justice or generosity of the queen of England, I have frequently solicited foreign princes, and called on all my friends to employ their whole interest for my relief. I have, likewise, endeavoured to procure for the English Catholics some mitigation of the rigour with which they are now treated; and if I could hope, by my death, to deliver them from oppression, I am willing to die for their sake. I wish, however, to imitate the example of Esther, not of Judith, and would rather make intercession for my people, than shed the blood of the meanest creature, in order to save them. I have often checked the intemperate zeal of my adherents, when either the severity of their own persecutions, or indignation at the unheard of injuries which I have endured, were apt to precipitate them into violent counsels. I have even warned the queen of dangers to which these harsh proceedings exposed herself. And worn out, as I now am, with cares and sufferings, the prospect of a crown is not so inviting, that I should ruin my soul in order to obtain it. I am no stranger to the feelings of humanity, nor unacquainted with the duties of religion, and abhor the detestable crime of assassination, as equally repugnant to both. And, if ever I have given consent by my words, or even by my thoughts, to any attempt against the life of the queen of England, far from declining the judgment of men, I shall not even pray for the mercy of God."

Two days did Mary appear before the judges, and in every part of her behaviour, maintained the magnanimity of a queen, tempered with the gentleness and modesty of a woman.

Oct. 25.
Sentence
against her.

By Elizabeth's express command, the commissioners, without pronouncing any sentence, adjourned to the Star-chamber in Westminster. When assembled in that place, Nau and Curl were brought into court, and confirmed their former declaration upon oath. And after reviewing their whole proceedings, the commissioners unanimously declared Mary "to be accessary to Babington's conspiracy, and to have imagined diverse matters, tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of Elizabeth, contrary to the express words of the statute, made for the security of the queen's life."

It is difficult to determine whether the injustice in appointing this trial, or the irregularity in conducting it, were the greater and more flagrant. By what right did Elizabeth claim authority over an independent queen? Was Mary bound to comply with the laws of a foreign kingdom? How could the subjects of another prince become her judges? or if such insult on royalty were allowed, ought not the common forms of justice to have been observed? If the testimony of Babington and his associates, was so explicit, why did not Elizabeth spare them for a few weeks, and by confronting them with Mary, overwhelm her with the conviction of her crimes? Nau and Curl were both alive; wherefore did not they appear at Fotheringay; and for what reason were they produced in the Star-chamber, where Mary was not present to hear what they deposed? Was this suspicious evidence enough to condemn a queen? Ought the meanest criminal to have been found guilty, upon such feeble and inconclusive proofs?

Irregularities in the trial.

But it was not on the evidence produced at her trial, that the sentence against Mary was founded. That served as a pretence to justify, but was not the cause of the violent steps taken by Elizabeth and her ministers towards her destruction; and was employed to give some colour of equity to what was the offspring of jealousy and fear. The nation, meanwhile, blinded with resentment against Mary, and solicitous to secure from every danger the life of its own sovereign, observed no irregularities in the proceedings, and attended to no defects in the proof, but grasped at suspicions and probabilities, as if they had been irrefragable demonstrations.

In this extremity of affairs, Elizabeth, to guard herself from reproach, and yet to hasten her designs against Mary, summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster. In that illustrious assembly, more temper and discernment than are to be found among the people, might have been expected. Both lords and commons, however, were equally under the dominion of popular prejudices and passions; and the same excesses of zeal or of fear, which prevailed in the nation, are apparent in all their proceedings. They entered with impatience upon an enquiry into the conspiracy; and not content with confirming the trial of Mary, and the legality of her sentence, they flattered the disposition of their sovereign, by presenting to her, through the hands of the chancellor, a petition, in which they requested, that the condemnation of the Scottish princess should be proclaimed, and that she should be executed ac-

The parliament confirms the sentence.

cording to the laws. This request, dictated by fears unworthy of that great assembly, was enforced by reasons still more unworthy; and drawn not from justice, but from convenience. The most rigorous confinement, it was pretended, could not curb Mary's intriguing spirit; the severest penal laws could not restrain her adherents; and several foreign princes waited only an opportunity for invading the kingdom, and asserting the title of the Scottish queen to the crown. Necessity, it was said, required that she should be sacrificed, to the security of Elizabeth, the religion, and liberties of the nation; and to prove this sacrifice to be no less just than necessary, several examples in history were produced, and many texts of scripture quoted; but both one and the other were misapplied, and their meaning egregiously distorted.

Elizabeth, who had, by her ministers, prepared the parliament for this petition, received it with a secret triumph; but her answer was in a style which she often used, ambiguous and evasive, under the appearance of openness and candor. It was full of such professions of regard for her people, as served to heighten their loyalty; of such complaints of Mary's ingratitude, as were calculated to excite their indignation; and of such insinuations that her own life was in danger, as could not fail to keep alive their fears. In the end, she besought them to save her the infamy and the pain of delivering up a queen, her nearest kinswoman, to punishment; and to consider whether it might not still be possible to provide for the public security, without forcing her to imbrue her hands in royal blood.

The true meaning of this reply was easily understood. The lords and commons renewed their former request, with additional importunity. They even remonstrated, that mercy to the queen of Scots was cruelty to them, her subjects, and children. Elizabeth having now obtained such a public sanction of her proceedings, there no longer existed any reason for protracting this scene of dissimulation. There was even some danger that her feigned difficulties might at last be treated as real. Adjourning, therefore, the parliament, she reserved in her own hands the sole disposal of her rival's fate.

Lord Buckhurst, and Beale, clerk of the council, were sent to the queen of Scots, and notified to her the sentence which had been pronounced; informing her, at the same time, how importunately the nation demanded the execution of it. Mary received the message not only
without

without symptoms of fear, but with expressions of triumph. "No wonder, said she, the English should now thirst for the blood of a foreign prince; they have often offered violence to their own monarchs. But after so many sufferings, death comes to me as a welcome deliverer. I am proud to think that my life is esteemed of importance to the Catholic Religion, and as a martyr for it, I am now willing to die ^p."

After the publication of the sentence, Mary was stripped of every remaining mark of royalty. The canopy of state in her apartment was pulled down. Paulet, her keeper, entering her chamber, approached her person without any ceremony, and even appeared covered in her presence. This harsh treatment produced not in her any seeming emotion. She only replied, "In despite of your sovereign, and her subservient judges, I will die a queen. My royal character is indelible; and I will surrender it with my spirit to the Almighty God, from whom I received it, and to whom my honour and my innocence are fully known."

Mary is treated with the utmost rigour.

In this melancholy state of her fortunes, Mary wrote to Elizabeth her last letter; not requesting her life, which she now seemed willing to part with, but desiring, that after her enemies should be satiated with her innocent blood, her body might be consigned to her servants, and conveyed into France, there to repose in a catholic country, with the sacred reliques of her mother.

While the queen of Scots thus prepared herself to meet her fate, great efforts were made by foreign powers with Elizabeth, to prevent the execution of the sentence pronounced against her. Henry III. besides employing L'Aubespine, the French resident at London, sent over Bellievre, with a professed intention of soliciting for Mary. They urged every argument that could be suggested, from justice, from generosity, and humanity. They intermingled reproaches and threats. But to all their efforts Elizabeth continued inexorable. Nor did she pay greater regard to the solicitations of James, who beheld with filial concern the indignities to which his mother had been exposed. At first, he could scarce believe that Elizabeth would venture upon an action so unprecedented; but as soon as the extraordinary steps she took discovered her intention, he dispatched to London sir William Keith; who, in conjunction with Douglas, the Scottish resident,

^p Camden.

remonstrated, in the strongest terms, against her proceedings. Elizabeth returning no answer, James wrote to her with his own hand, complaining of her conduct, in the warmest language of expostulation; not without threats, that both his duty and his honour would oblige him to renounce her friendship, and to act as became a son, when called to revenge his mother's wrongs. At the same time, he assembled the nobles, who promised to stand by him in so good a cause. He appointed ambassadors to France, Spain, and Denmark, in order to implore the aid of these courts: and took other steps towards executing his threats with vigour. The high strain of his letter enraged Elizabeth to such a degree, that she was ready to dismiss his ambassadors without any reply. But by the advice of her ministers, she returned a soft and evasive answer, promising to listen to any overture from the king, that tended to his mother's safety; and to suspend the execution of the sentence, until the arrival of new ambassadors from Scotland. The master of Gray, and sir Robert Melvil, were sent by James without delay. In order to remove Elizabeth's fears, they offered, that the king of Scotland would become bound that no conspiracy should be undertaken against her person, or the peace of the kingdom, with Mary's consent; and for the faithful performance of this, would deliver some of the most considerable of the Scottish nobles as hostages. If this should be deemed not sufficient, they proposed that Mary should resign all her rights and pretensions to her son, from whom nothing injurious to the protestant religion, or inconsistent with Elizabeth's safety, could be feared. The former proposal Elizabeth rejected as insecure; the latter, as dangerous. The ambassadors were then instructed to assume a higher tone in their applications; and Melvil executed the commission with equal fidelity and zeal. But Gray, with his usual perfidy, betrayed the important trust reposed in him. He even urged Elizabeth to execute the sentence against her rival; often repeating to her the old proverbial sentence, "The dead cannot bite." And whatever should happen, he undertook to appease the king's rage, or at least to prevent any violent effects of his resentment.

A.D. 1587.

James renews his solicitations in behalf of his mother.
Jan. 1.

Treachery of Gray.

Elizabeth's anxiety and dissimulation.

Elizabeth, meanwhile, discovered all the symptoms of the most violent disquietude of mind. She shunned society, she was often found in a pensive mood, and repeating, with much emphasis, these sentences, borrowed from some of the divines then in vogue; "Aut fer aut feri; neferiare, feri". But, considering the whole of Elizabeth's

Elizabeth's conduct towards Mary, much of this apparent uneasiness must be imputed to dissimulation. The people waited her determination with anxiety; and, in order to support their apprehensions, rumours of danger were artfully invented by her ministers, and propagated with the utmost industry. The French ambassador was said to have suborned an assassin to murder the queen. A report flew, that a Spanish fleet was arrived in Milford-haven; that the duke of Guise had landed with a strong army in Sussex; that the Scots had entered England with all their forces; that the northern counties were in arms; and that a conspiracy was on foot for seizing the queen and burning the city. These rumours produced the intended effect; a general panic seized the people; and they called out for the execution of the sentence against Mary, as the only means which could restore tranquillity to the kingdom.

Elizabeth now thought she might venture to strike the blow, which she had so long meditated. She commanded Davison, one of the secretaries of state, to bring her the fatal warrant; and her behaviour, on that occasion, affords the clearest indication of the genuine temper of her mind. At the very moment she was subscribing the writ, she was capable of jesting. "Go," said she to Davison, "and tell Walsingham what I have now done, though I am afraid he will die for grief when he hears it." Her chief anxiety was now to have the transaction completed, without appearing to have given her consent to a deed so infamous. She often hinted to Paulet and Drury, as well as to some other courtiers, that now was the time for them to evince their zeal for her safety. But they very prudently affected not to understand her meaning. Even after the warrant was signed, she commanded a letter to be written to Paulet, in less ambiguous terms, and such as even he, with all his natural roughness and severity, disdained to comply with. On receiving his answer, Elizabeth became extremely peevish; and calling him a dainty and precise fellow, who would promise much, but perform nothing, she proposed to employ one Wingfield, who had both courage and inclination to strike the blow. After such strong intimations of her desire, notwithstanding the occasional exertion of her former duplicity, her privy-counsellors thought themselves sufficiently authorized to proceed. They therefore assembled in the council-chamber, and, by a letter under all their hands, empowered the

Feb. 1.
Warrant
for Mary's
execution
signed.

the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, with the high sheriff of the county, to see the sentence put in execution.

Mary's behaviour at her death.

On Tuesday the 7th of February, the two earls arrived at Fotheringay, and demanding access to the queen, read in her presence the warrant for execution, and desired her to prepare for death next morning. Mary listened to them without emotion, and said, with a cheerful countenance, that she did not think the queen, her sister, would have consented to her death, or have executed the sentence against a person not subject to the laws and jurisdiction of England. "But as such is her will (said she), death, which puts an end to all my miseries, shall be to me most welcome; nor can I esteem that soul worthy the happiness of heaven, which cannot support the body under the horrors of the last passage to the blissful mansions." And laying her hand upon a Bible, which happened to be near her, she solemnly protested that she was innocent of that conspiracy which Babington had carried on against Elizabeth's life. She then desired that her confessor might be permitted to attend her; a request which, however, those zealots inhumanly refused. After the earls had retired, she ate sparingly at supper, while, with a cheerful countenance, she comforted her attendants, who were weeping, by telling them, that they ought not to mourn, but rejoice, at the prospect of her deliverance from a world of misery. Towards the end of supper, she called in her servants, and drank to them; they pledged her, in order, on their knees; and craved pardon for any past neglect of their duty. She deigned, in return, to ask their pardon for her offences towards them; and a plentiful effusion of tears attended this last solemn separation^b.

After this, she wrote her testament with her own hand. Her money, her jewels, and her cloaths, she distributed among her servants, according to their rank or merit. She wrote a short letter to the king of France, and another to the duke of Guise, full of tender but magnanimous sentiments, and recommended her afflicted servants to their protection. At her wonted time she went to bed, and slept calmly a few hours. Early in the morning she retired into her closet, and employed a considerable time in devotion. At eight o'clock, the high-sheriff, and his officers, entered her chamber, and found her still kneeling at the altar. She instantly started up, and, with a majestic mien, and a countenance undismayed, and

^b Melvil.

even chearful, advanced towards the place of execution, leaning on two of Paulet's attendants. She was dressed in a mourning habit, but with an elegance and splendor which she had long laid aside, except on a few festival days. At the bottom of the stairs, the two earls, attended by several gentlemen from the neighbouring counties, received her; and there sir Andrew Melvil, the master of her household, who had been, during some weeks, secluded from her presence, was permitted to take his last farewell. At the sight of a mistress whom he tenderly loved, in such a condition, he melted into tears. As he was bewailing her condition, and complaining of his own fate, in being appointed to carry the account of so mournful an event into Scotland, Mary replied, "Weep not, good Melvil, there is at present greater cause for rejoicing. Thou shalt this day see Mary Stuart delivered from all her cares, and such an end put to her tedious sufferings as she has long expected. Bear witness that I die constant in my religion; firm in my fidelity towards Scotland; and unchanged in my affection to France. Commend me to my son. Tell him I have done nothing injurious to his kingdom, to his honour, or to his rights; and God forgive all those who have thirsted, without cause, for my blood."

With much difficulty she prevailed on the two earls to allow Melvil, with three of her men servants, and two of her maids, to attend her to the scaffold. It was erected in the same hall where she had been tried, raised a little above the floor, and covered, as well as a chair, the cushion, and block, with black cloth. Mary mounted the steps with alacrity, and beheld, with an undismayed countenance, the executioners, and all the preparations of death. Here the warrant for her execution was read, to which she listened with a careless air, as if the business had nowise concerned her. The dean of Peterborough then stepped forth, and repeated a long exhortation, which she desired him to forbear, as she was firmly resolved to die in the catholic religion. When the dean had finished, she, with an audible voice, and in the English tongue, recommended unto God the afflicted state of the church; and prayed for prosperity to her son, and for a long life, and peaceable reign, for Elizabeth.

She then prepared for the block, by taking off her veil, and upper garments; when one of the executioners rudely

c Melvil. Camden.

endeavoured

eudeavoured to assist, she gently checked him, and said, with a smile, that she had not been accustomed to undress before so many spectators, nor to be served by such valets. Her servants, seeing her in this condition, ready to lay her head upon the block, burst into tears and lamentations. She turned about to them; put her finger upon her lips, as a sign of imposing silence upon them; and, having given them her blessing, desired them to pray for her. One of her maids, whom she had appointed for that purpose, covered her eyes with a handkerchief. She laid herself down, without any sign of fear or trepidation; and her head was severed from her body at two strokes by the executioner. He instantly held it up to the spectators, streaming with blood. The dean of Peterborough alone exclaimed, "So perish all queen Elizabeth's enemies." The earl of Kent replied, "Amen;" while the rest of the spectators wept and sighed at this affecting spectacle; their zeal and flattery giving place, at that moment, to the sentiments of pity and admiration.

Such was the tragical death of Mary, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and nineteenth of her captivity in England; a princess alike unequalled in beauty, in accomplishments, both natural and acquired, and in misfortunes.

None of her women was suffered to come near her body, which was carried into an adjoining room, where it lay, for some days, covered with a coarse cloth, torn from a billiard-table. The block, the scaffold, the aprons of the executioners, and every thing stained with her blood, were reduced to ashes. Not long after, Elizabeth appointed her body to be buried in the cathedral of Peterborough, with royal magnificence. But the pageantry of a pompous funeral could not efface the memory of those injuries which laid Mary in her grave. James, soon after his accession to the English throne, ordered her body to be removed to Westminster Abbey, and to be deposited among the monarchs of England.

*Elizabeth
affects to
lament
Mary's
death.*

*She endeavours to
soothe
James.*

Elizabeth affected to receive the accounts of Mary's death with the most violent emotions of surprize and sorrow; but evident marks of dissimulation and artifice may be traced through the whole of her proceedings against the life of the Scottish queen. She now sent to the king of Scots a letter of apology, full of such extenuating allegations as were far too improbable to be credited. This she dispatched by Robert Cary, one of lord Hunfdon's sons. But as James's concern for his mother was sincere and

and lively, he discovered the highest resentment, and refused to admit Cary into his presence. He recalled his ambassadors from England; and seemed to breathe nothing but war and vengeance. The states of Scotland, being assembled, took part in his displeasure; and professed, that they were ready to spend their lives and fortunes in revenge of his mother's death, and in defence of his title to the crown of England. Many of his nobility urged him to take arms. Lord Sinclair, when the courtiers appeared in deep mourning, presented himself to the king, arrayed in complete armour, and said, that this was the proper mourning for the queen. Elizabeth was sensible of the danger attending these counsels; and, after allowing James some decent interval to vent his grief and indignation, she employed her emissaries to pacify him, and to set before him every motive of hope or fear, which might induce him to relinquish all hostile designs. The result was, that Mary's death, like that of a common criminal, remained unrevengeed by any prince; and whatever infamy Elizabeth might incur, she was exposed to no new danger on that account.

Mary's death, however, proved fatal to the master of Gray, and lost him the king's favour, which he had some time enjoyed. He was condemned to perpetual banishment; a punishment very unequal to his crimes.

Disgrace of the master of Gray.

The Scots being desirous of the king's marriage, overtures for that purpose were made to the eldest daughter of Frederick II. king of Denmark. But Elizabeth, jealous of every thing that would render the accession of the house of Stuart more acceptable to the English, endeavoured to perplex James in the same manner she had done Mary, and employed many artifices to defeat or retard his marriage. His ministers, gained by bribes and promises, seconded her intention; and, accordingly, the king of Denmark's eldest daughter was given in marriage to the duke of Brunswick. James next made addresses to the princess Anne, Frederick's second daughter; and this match, notwithstanding the intrigues of Elizabeth, and his own ministers, was at last concluded. The young queen set sail towards Scotland; but being driven, by a violent tempest, to Norway, whence there was little hope of her putting to sea again before the spring, James formed the resolution of going himself in quest of his bride. On this expedition he accordingly sailed, attended by the chancellor, several noblemen, and a train of three hundred persons. He arrived safely in a small harbour near

A.D. 1589.

The king's marriage with Anne of Denmark.

James sails for Denmark.

Upslo,

Nov. 24.

Upslo, where the queen then resided, and there the marriage was solemnized. As it would have been rash to attempt those boisterous seas in the winter-season, James accepted the invitation of the court of Denmark, and repairing to Copenhagen, passed several months in that capital, amidst continual feasting and amusements. On the 1st of May, the king and queen arrived at Leith, and were received by their subjects with every demonstration of joy.

A.D. 1590.

*He arrives
in Scotland,
with his
queen.*

*Disorders
in the king-
dom.*

The pacific disposition of James, and his clemency towards offenders, multiplied crimes of all kinds, and encouraged such acts of violence, as brought his government under contempt. The history of several years, about this time, is filled with accounts of feuds between the great families, and of assassinations, perpetrated in the most audacious manner. All the defects in the feudal aristocracy were now felt more sensibly than at any other period in the history of Scotland, and anarchy prevailed to a degree scarce consistent with the preservation of society. Nor was the king himself exempted from repeated attempts of conspirators, instigated either by personal considerations, or religious prejudices.

A.D. 1600.

*Gowry's
conspiracy.*

One of these conspiracies is almost inexplicable. The authors of it were, John Ruthven, earl of Gowry, and his brother Alexander, the sons of that earl who was beheaded in the year 1584. On the 5th of August, as James was taking horse in the morning, to hunt in the neighbourhood of Falkland, he was accosted by Mr. Alexander Ruthven, who, with an air of great importance, told the king, that he had met an unknown man, of a suspicious appearance, walking alone in a by-path, near his brother's house at Perth; and, on searching him, had found under his cloak, a pot filled with a great quantity of foreign gold; that he had immediately seized both him and his treasure, and, without communicating the matter to any person, had kept him confined in a solitary house, until he should know his majesty's pleasure; for which purpose he had come to Falkland. James immediately suspected the unknown person to be an agent from the pope, or the king of Spain, who had supplied him with money to excite commotions in the kingdom. The king offered to send one of his servants with Ruthven, and a warrant directed to the magistrates of Perth, to receive the fellow and the money into their custody, and to detain both until his pleasure should be farther known. Ruthven strongly opposed this expedient, and, with many arguments, urged

urged the king to ride directly to Perth, and to examine the matter in person. Meanwhile, the chace began; and James, notwithstanding his passion for that amusement, could not help ruminating on the strangeness of the tale, and on Ruthven's importunity. At last, he called him, and promised, when the sport was over, to set out for Perth. The chace, however, continued long; and Ruthven, who all the while kept close by the king, was importuning him to make haste. At the death of the stag, he would not allow James to stay until a fresh horse was brought him; and observing the duke of Lenox and the earl of Mar preparing to accompany the king, he entreated him to countermand them. This James refused; and though Ruthven's impatience and anxiety, as well as the apparent perturbation in his whole behaviour, raised some suspicions in his mind, yet he consented to set out for Perth. When they had arrived within a mile of the town, Ruthven rode forward to inform his brother of the king's approach, though he had already dispatched two messengers for that purpose. At a little distance from the town, the earl, attended by several of the citizens, met the king, who had only twenty persons in his train. No preparations were made for the king's entertainment. The earl appeared pensive and embarrassed, and was at no pains to atone, by his courtesy or hospitality, for the bad fare with which he treated his guests. When the king's repast was over, his attendants were led to dine in another room, and he being left almost alone, Ruthven whispered him, that now was the time to visit the prisoner; but he wished that his majesty would get rid of the earl his brother, by desiring him to entertain the other guests. When James left the room, he desired to be attended by sir Thomas Erskine; but Ruthven ordered that gentleman not to follow; and conducting the king up a stair-case, and then through several apartments, the doors of which Ruthven locked behind him, led James at last into a small study, in which stood a man clad in armour, and with a sword and dagger by his side. The king, who expected to have found one disarmed and bound, started at the sight, and enquired if this was the person; but Ruthven, snatching the dagger from the girdle of the man in armour, and holding it to the king's breast, "Remember (said he), how unjustly my father suffered by your command. You are now my prisoner. Submit to my disposal without resistance, or outcry; or this dagger shall instantly avenge his blood." James expostulated with Ruthven, entreated and flattered

flattered him; during which time, the man in armour stood trembling and dismayed, without courage either to aid the king, or to second his aggressor. Ruthven protested, that, if the king raised no outcry, his life should be safe; and, moved by some unknown reason, retired, in order to call his brother; leaving to the man in armour the care of the king, whom he bound by oath not to make any noise during his absence^b.

While the king was in this situation, his attendants growing impatient to know whither he had retired, one of Gowry's retainers entered the room hastily, and told them that the king had just rode away towards Falkland. All of them rushed out into the street, and the earl, in the utmost haste, called for their horses. By this time Ruthven had returned to the king, and swearing that now there was no remedy, he must die, offered to bind his hands. Unarmed as James was, he scorned to submit to that indignity, and, closing with the assassin, a fierce struggle ensued. The man in armour stood as formerly, amazed and motionless; and the king, dragging Ruthven towards a window, which he had just before persuaded the person with whom he was left to open, cried out, "Treason! treason! Help! I am murdering!" His attendants knew the voice; and saw, at the window, a hand which grasped the king's neck with violence. They flew with precipitation to his assistance: Lenox and Mar, with the greater number, ran up the principal staircase, where, finding all the doors shut, they endeavoured to burst them open. But sir John Ramsay, entering by a back-stair, which led to the apartment where the king was, found the door open, and, rushing upon Ruthven, who was still struggling with the king, struck him twice with his dagger, and thrust him towards the stair-case, where sir Thomas Erskine and sir Hugh Herries met, and killed him; he crying, with his last breath, "Alas! I am not to blame for this action." During this scuffle, the man, who had been concealed in the study, escaped unobserved. With Ramsay, Erskine, and Herries, one Wilson, a footman, entered the room where the king was, and, before they had time to shut the door, Gowrie rushed in, with a drawn sword in each hand, followed by seven of his attendants, well armed, and, with a loud voice, threatened them all with instant death. They immediately thrust the king into the study, and, shutting

^b Calder. Spotsw.

the door upon him, encountered the earl. Notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, sir John Ramsay pierced Gowrie through the heart, and he fell down dead without uttering a word. His followers having received several wounds immediately fled. Three of the king's defenders were likewise hurt in the conflict. A great noise continued at the opposite door, where a number of persons laboured in vain to force a passage; and the king being assured that they were Lenox, Mar, and his other friends, it was opened on the inside. Unexpectedly finding the king safe, they ran towards him with transports of congratulation; and he, falling on his knees, with all his attendants, offered solemn thanks to God for so wonderful a deliverance. The townsmen of Perth had by this time taken the alarm, and upon hearing that their provost, the earl of Gowrie, was killed, surrounded the house. James ordered them to be admitted, showed them the dead bodies of the earl and his brother, and informed them both of his danger and deliverance. Having received this satisfaction from the mouth of the king, their fury subsided, and they dispersed. On searching the earl's pockets for papers that might discover his designs and accomplices, nothing was found but a small parchment bag, full of magical characters and words of enchantment; and if we may believe the account of the conspiracy published by the king, "while these were about him, the wound of which he died bled not; but, as soon as they were taken away, the blood gushed out in great abundance." After the strange adventures of this busy day, the king returned in the evening to Falkland, having committed the dead bodies of the two brothers to the custody of the magistrates of Perth^c.

Notwithstanding the minute detail which the king gave of this conspiracy, the motives which actuated the two brothers are entirely unknown, and the narrative even labours under inconsistencies. The words of Ruthven to the king gave some ground to think, that the desire of revenging their father's death had instigated them to this attempt. But, whatever injuries their father had suffered, they could not reasonably impute them to the king, whose youth and subjection, at that time, ought to have exempted him from being the object of resentment, on account of actions which were not done by his command. James had even endeavoured to repair the wrongs which

^c Calder. Spotsw.

the father had suffered, by benefits to his children ; and Gowrie himself, sensible of his obligations, had acknowledged them with the warmest expressions of gratitude. Three of the earl's attendants being convicted of assisting him in this assault on the king's servants, were executed at Perth ; but they could give no light into the motives which had prompted their master. Andrew Henderson, the earl's steward, who, upon a promise of pardon, confessed himself to be the man who had been concealed in the study, was as much a stranger as the rest to his master's design, and did not even know for what end that station had been assigned him. What renders this mysterious transaction the more unaccountable is, that the two brothers were young men of the most excellent character, more learned than is usual among persons of their rank ; generous, popular, and more religious than is common at their age^d.

Sprot's discoveries concerning it.

An accident, no less strange than the other circumstances of the story, and which happened nine years after, discovered that the two brothers had not carried on their machinations without the aid of accomplices. One Sprot, a notary, having whispered among several persons, that he knew some secrets relating to Gowrie's conspiracy, the privy-council thought the matter worthy of their attention, and ordered him to be seized. His confession was partly voluntary, and partly forced from him by torture. According to this account, Logan of Restalrig, a gentleman of an opulent fortune, but of dissolute morals, was privy to all Gowrie's intentions, and an accomplice in his crimes. Mr. Ruthven, he said, had frequent interviews with him, in order to concert the plan of their operations ; the earl had corresponded with him to the same purpose ; and one Bour, Logan's confidant, was trusted with the secret, and carried the letters between them. Both Logan and Bour were now dead ; but Sprot affirmed that he had read letters written by Gowrie and Logan on that occasion ; and, in confirmation of his testimony, several of Logan's letters, which a curiosity fatal to himself had prompted Sprot to steal from among Bour's papers, were produced. These were compared by the privy-council with papers of Logan's hand-writing, and the resemblance was evident. Persons of unexceptionable credit, and well qualified to judge of the matter, examined them, and swore to their authenticity. Logan, though dead, was

rendered the object of prosecution. His bones were dug up, and tried for high-treason, and, by a sentence equally odious and illegal, his lands were forfeited, and his posterity declared infamous. Sprot was condemned to be hanged for misprision of treason. He adhered to his confession to the last; and, having promised on the scaffold to give the spectators a sign in confirmation of the truth of what he had deposed, he thrice clapped his hands after he was thrown off the ladder by the executioner.

But though it be thus discovered that Gowrie did not act without associates, little additional light is thrown on the motives and intention of his conduct. It appears almost incredible, that two young men of such distinguished virtue should revolt all at once from their duty, and attempt a crime so atrocious as the murder of their sovereign. It appears still more improbable that they should have concerted their undertaking with so little foresight and prudence. If they intended that the deed should remain concealed, they could not have chosen a more improper scene for executing it than their own house. If they intended that Henderson should have struck the blow, they could not have pitched upon a man more destitute of the resolution necessary for that purpose; nor could they expect, that he, unsolicited, and unacquainted with their design, would venture on so desperate an action. If Ruthven meant to stab the king with his own hand, why did he withdraw the dagger after it was pointed at his breast? The account of the transaction is liable to many other objections, equally strong and inexplicable, but which it may now be superfluous to enumerate. The parliament, which met soon after, enacted that the surname of Ruthven should be abolished; and, in order to preserve the memory of the king's miraculous escape, and to declare the sense which the nation had of the divine goodness, appointed the 5th of August to be observed annually as a day of public thanksgiving.

Though Elizabeth would never permit the question concerning the right of succession to the crown to be determined in parliament, nor declare her own sentiments concerning a point which she wished to remain in impenetrable mystery; she had, however, formed no design of excluding the Scottish king from an inheritance to which his title was undoubted. A short time before her death, she broke the silence which she had so long preserved on that subject, and told Cecil and the lord-admiral, that her throne was the throne of kings, and she would

A.D. 1603.

*Death of
Elizabeth.*

have no mean person to ascend it; and that her cousin, the king of Scots, should be her successor. This declaration she confirmed on her death-bed; and, as soon as she had breathed her last, the lords of the privy-council proclaimed James king of England. All the intrigues carried on by foreigners in favour of the infant, all the cabals formed within the kingdom to support the titles of lady Arabella and the earl of Hertford, disappeared in a moment, and nobles and people unanimously testified their satisfaction at the accession of the Scottish king.

C H A P. VI.

*From the Accession of James to the Crown of England,
to the Restoration.*

*James
settles the
government of
Scotland.*

BEFORE James left Scotland he gratified his darling passion for declamation, in a long speech which he made in the high-church of St. Giles, at Edinburgh, assuring his subjects of his unalterable affection for their persons, and attention to their interests. He was undoubtedly, at this time, extremely popular. His subjects considered him as the peculiar care of Providence, and his life as a continued series of miraculous preservations. They answered his harangue by sighs and tears, at the thoughts of losing their beloved monarch; but they were comforted by the repeated promises which James made them, to pay frequent visits to his native country. Having settled the government of Scotland with great precision, he set out, on the 5th of April, to take possession of his new throne.

James, being now sovereign of both parts of the island, assumed the title of king of Great Britain; and it was his favourite object to bring about a union between both nations; but the completion of this salutary project was reserved for a future period.

Besides the other measures for coalescing the two kingdoms, James ordered all distinctions upon the borders to be abolished, and the iron gates of Berwick to be removed. He sent a mandate to the citizens of Edinburgh, containing the names of the magistrates they were to choose; and he expressly prohibited any meeting of the Scottish clergy without his warrant. The Scottish parliament, according to summons, met on the 3d of July at Perth, but was obliged to adjourn on account of the plague.

plague. The Mac Gregors renewed their insurrections; but the chief of that clan surrendered to the earl of Argyle, on condition of being conveyed safely out of Scotland. The earl evaded the terms, by carrying him to the south of Berwick, and back to Edinburgh, where he was hanged, as were many of his followers.

Peace being established with Spain, James thought the juncture favourable for resuming his darling project of a union. Two commissions were accordingly made out, one for England and another for Scotland. The English commissioners were forty-four, partly peers and partly commoners, with the lord-chancellor Ellesmere at their head. On the part of Scotland thirty commissioners were appointed, at the head of whom was the earl of Montrose, lord-chancellor, with the same powers as the preceding. Those commissioners, after several meetings at London, agreed upon certain articles to be laid before parliament, of which three copies were made out. One was to remain with the commissioners, another was to be delivered to James, and a third was to be sealed up for the use of the parliament. The conferences were managed with great secrecy, for none of the commissioners was permitted to take a copy of the articles.

*Conferences
for con-
cluding a
union.*

It was agreed, that all hostile laws made between either kingdom shall be abolished: that the border-laws and customs shall be likewise abolished, and justice administered hereafter according to the ordinary laws of each kingdom: that there be free intercourse of trade between the two kingdoms, without paying any customs, for all commodities (except sheep, wool, wool-fell, cattle, hides, and leather, which are wholly prohibited), so as there be sufficient caution given not to transport any of the said commodities into any foreign parts out of the kingdom: that it shall be lawful for the subjects of one kingdom to bring into the other any foreign commodities, paying the custom used in that kingdom where they arrive. But because it appears that the Scottishmen have a privilege in France, whereby they are exempted from paying of the custom that the English and other foreigners pay upon transportation, it is therefore agreed, that whatsoever they pay less than we there, they shall pay so much more than we here for French commodities, except such as are brought out of the river Bourdeaux, where it appears that our privileges are as great as theirs: that it shall be lawful for the subjects of either kingdom to carry out of the other the natural commodities thereof, paying the ordi-

nary customs; but so as the Scottishmen trade not with any of our commodities to any place where our companies are established, in any other sort than the common subject of England may do, who hath no privilege: that it shall be lawful for either nation to freight the ships of the other: that either nation shall be enabled to be free of any company or corporation of the other, serving for it, or attaining it by purchase, in such sort as those of the same nation do, where the company or corporation is: that it shall be declared by parliament, that the law already is (for so the judges have declared it), that all the subjects of either kingdom, born since queen Elizabeth's death are naturalized in the other, to all intents and purposes; and for those born before, it is agreed, that they shall be naturalized to all purposes, and enabled to all capacities, each in the other, except to have voice and seance in parliament, and bear any office of the crown or judicature; which three points we have thought good to reserve till the union be made perfect in other things, which could not be done at this time. The last article begat more debate and contestation than all the rest, as that which touched the freehold of the principal of both sides, and imported them most in their particular; the one side to seek, the other to exclude. But, in the end, the king was won to our side, and so it was concluded in this form^a.

Notwithstanding this progress in the treaty, the English were never serious in the transaction, and caballed together to oppose it in parliament. James, however, appeared so perfectly satisfied with what the commissioners had done, that he made them one of his best speeches of thanks.

James having recommended to his ministers in Scotland to favour the episcopal order, this partiality alarmed the presbyterian clergy; and being no longer awed by the presence of the king, they held frequent meetings, in which means were concerted for repealing all the late acts in favour of episcopacy. Their meetings were interrupted by Straiton, of Lawriston; and the clergy found by experience, that they were no longer the dictators of the state. Only nine of the fifty-two presbyteries disobeyed the royal mandate, for which the members were denounced rebels.

James declared, that he intended to have a conference in his own presence between the bishops and the heads of the presbyterian party in Scotland, that he might, by his

^a Letter from sir Henry Nevil, one of the commissioners, to sir Ralph Winwood.

royal wisdom, settle all their differences. But in the mean while Forbes and Welch, two of the most forward of the preachers, were committed prisoners to the castle of Blackness. The brethren were not intimidated by this severity; and no less than eight of them were committed to different prisons. They had given out that James intended to abolish the government and discipline of the church of Scotland, and to bring it to a conformity with that of England, even as to the rites and modes of worship. James contradicted these rumours in a pompous declaration which he published from Hampton-court; and the imprisoned ministers were called upon to answer for their conduct at the council-board. Being there demanded what they had to say for their proceedings, they declined the jurisdiction of the court; upon which the council declared the fourteen preachers, who signed the declinature, to be amenable to a prosecution for treason, which James accordingly awarded against six of the number. After a solemn trial, they were found guilty of holding an assembly in the town of Aberdeen without the royal licence; an act which was construed as unlawful, and inferred the pains of death. This decision was followed by a severe proclamation, rendering it penal for any subject to call in question the justice of the sentence. The parties who were condemned, alleged, that they had the chancellor's authority for holding the assembly, or (as it is called in the record) the conventicle. By order of James the ministers were confronted with the chancellor. They made good their charge so far as to prove the chancellor to be an inveterate enemy to the order of bishops; and when the report was made to James, he very justly observed, that none of the two deserved credit; and that he saw the ministers would betray religion rather than submit themselves to government; and that the chancellor would betray the king for the malice he carried to the bishops.

A convention of the Scottish estates was held at Edinburgh on the 6th of June, and a letter from James was presented to the assembly. Its contents were worthy of the father of a people. It assured them of his increasing affection to his native country: he enjoined unanimity, and a submission to the laws of his nobility and barons: it recommended fisheries and manufactures, especially that of cloth, to the burgesses and trading subjects of his dominions, and exhorted them to resume the project of civilizing the Highlands; assuring them all, that they so behaving themselves, their liberty should be as dear to

Wise conduct of James.

him as either his life or estate. This letter being read, and its contents enforced by the chancellor, the members came to several vigorous resolutions for the due execution of his majesty's will. The abolition of the barbarous feuds, or family animosities, which were a reproach to the kingdom, came under their deliberation; when, in consequence of the salutary suggestions transmitted by James, who represented how disgraceful it was to make up their mutual breaches of peace, by each party giving the other security against the commission of any future violence; it was ordered, by an act of council, that all securities for the peate should be according to law, and not by the assurance of one party to the other.

A D. 1617.

*James
visits
Scotland.*

James having received a large sum of money from the Dutch for delivering up their cautionary towns, now entertained thoughts of visiting his native kingdom. The government-party in Scotland would have gladly dispensed with the honour intended them by his majesty; but did not think proper to oppose his journey. Among the magnificent preparations made for his reception, he had sent orders to have his chapel repaired; and some English carpenters were employed to erect statues of the apostles in the stalls or pews. This gave such offence, that even the archbishop of St. Andrew's, with other prelates and clergymen, joined in a letter against those decorations, as a prelude to the introduction of popery. Though James was greatly displeased with their zeal, and insisted on their objections being entirely groundless, yet he ordered the work to be discontinued, on pretence that it could not be done so quickly as was required. James arrived at Berwick in the beginning of May, and the Scottish parliament was prorogued to the 13th of June; the intermediate time being spent by his majesty in making a progress through the chief boroughs and towns of the kingdom.

During the residence of James in Scotland, he was at great pains to press a conformity of their ecclesiastical worship with that of England. He obliged his noblemen to take the sacrament after the English manner, kneeling. He introduced an organ, a choir, and all the pomp of church-music and ceremonies, into his own chapel, and even gave liberty to abbots, or such of the protestant clergy, on whom abbies had been conferred, to sit in parliament, in the same manner as they had done in the

times of popery. Most of those abbies, however, were now converted into temporal hereditary lordships, which rendered their proprietors lords of parliament. The king took all opportunities of haranguing his people, even in church, especially on the subject of a strict conformity with the worship of the church of England. He could not, however, succeed in abrogating the authority of the general assembly of the church, where the bishops had no decisive vote. With great difficulty he gave way to the meeting of an assembly; but all they could be brought to consent to was to accept of one article, "that private communion might be administered; and that the clergy should give the elements of the sacrament out of their own hands to the communicants." As to the other articles of conformity to the church of England, which James pretended he had a right to establish by virtue of his prerogative, particularly those relating to the observations of holidays, they were postponed. The chief benefit which resulted to Scotland from the king's visit, was the establishment, by act of parliament, of justices of the peace and constables, on the same footing as those in England. James returned by the way of Carlisle to London, where he arrived on the 4th of August.

James had contracted a bad habit of body by his injudiciously riding hard after drinking largely of sweet wines. He was at last, in March, seized with a disease, which his physicians pronounced to be a tertian ague; but a beneficial discharge by sweating under his arm-pit, being dried up, it was thought that this stoppage indicated a decay of nature. It seems to be unquestionable that the medical attendance on him was very irregular. The countess of Buckingham, mother to the duke, and some ladies, who had great faith in the practice of mountebanks, undertook to be his physicians. James was impatient under his illness, and insisted upon a plaster and posset-drink being administered to him, because they had done great service to Buckingham some time before, when labouring under the like distemper. The disease, however, advancing, his preparations for death were calm and rational, and he met it with the greatest intrepidity.

*He returns
to England.*

A.D. 1625.

*Sickness
and death
of James.*

CHARLES I.

A.D. 1629.

Charles intends to resume the church-lands.

CHARLES, on his accession to the crown, continued all the officers of state in their respective departments in Scotland as well as in England. After the death of Buckingham, he resolved to receive, in person, the crown of the kingdom from which he derived his birth. Charles was so intent upon his visit to Scotland, that he proposed to come down post to Edinburgh; but the viscount Duplin, then chancellor of that kingdom, dissuaded him, on account of the indecency of such a journey, and the state of the royal palaces, which were not in a condition to receive him. He ordered his parliament, however, to meet, chiefly for completing the scheme he had laid for the resumption of the church-lands. The earl of Nithsdale, his commissioner, had pushed this measure, but with no great success, and had summoned a meeting at Edinburgh of all concerned. According to bishop Burnet, when they had met, they resolved to murder the earl of Nithsdale, and all his party, if they insisted upon the resumption. The complexion of the assembly, however, was such, that Nithsdale returned to court without opening all his instructions.

A considerable supply, however, was voted; but, according to Balfour, all the money was expended in bringing needy lords and other members into court-measures. About this time one Struthers, who was bishop of Galloway, and one of the ministers of Edinburgh, wrote a very free letter to the earl of Perth, in which he takes notice, that the bishops were now become publici odii victimæ, *victims of public hatred*; and prophetically mentions the consequences which afterwards attended the pressing upon the people of Scotland the ceremonies of the episcopal church. The Scottish bishops, in general, were now weak, violent, and bigotted, and no longer possessed that moderation which had distinguished their order during the late reign. This was owing to the furious principles of Laud, who had entirely the direction of Charles in matters of religion. Laud pushed the conformity of the Scottish ecclesiastical government with that of England, even to the most ridiculous gesticulations, and suggested to Charles that they were essentials in religion, because practised by the primitive church; that even the worship of the church of England, and far more that

that of Scotland, had been left imperfect by James; and that it concerned the conscience of Charles to bring them to the standard of religious purity.

The common people, and the violent clergy, had long found fault even with that moderate episcopacy and conformity with the church of England, which James had established in Scotland; but their feudal dependencies did not suffer them to make any effectual opposition to those innovations, especially after a promise made by one of the king's ministers, that no farther conformity would be pressed. The nobility and gentry of Scotland did not much dislike episcopacy, and were so well reconciled to the moderate bishops under James, that they lived together on very good terms. But they took the alarm when they saw Charles bent upon the exaltation of the episcopal order, and upon the introduction of farther innovations, not only in worship, but in habits to be worn by the clergy, some of which were theatrically pompous. They considered this as plain indications that the king intended to resume the church-lands, and consequently to strip many of them of their best estates. When they saw the vacant sees given by Laud to violent hot-headed young clergymen, under pretence that the old bishops were timid, luke-warm, and betrayers of the rights of episcopacy, they entered into secret consultations how to ward off the intended blow of resumption. Though all the new bishops were followers of Laud, none of them had either the learning or abilities required in their order, except one Maxwell; but he was stained with immoderate ambition, and ripe for all compliances. As the severities of the king's principles, with regard to prerogative, were well known in Scotland, the opposers of his ecclesiastical measures never proceeded farther than a protest in parliament; and they seemed to acquiesce perfectly in the royal pleasure. Such of the clergy, however, as detested episcopacy, and were much followed by the laity, under pretence of fasts and religious exercises, held meetings, in which they entered into associations, and took other measures for strengthening their party; but still without any appearance of proceeding to acts of rebellion.

Charles was intent not only upon resuming the church-lands, but sheriffships, and other heritable jurisdictions; a measure as justifiable as the other was imprudent. Those belonging to the marquis of Huntley were the most considerable, and rendered him too powerful for a subject. The marquis, in consideration of five thousand pounds sterling (a sum which never was paid him), accordingly resigned

resigned into the king's hands the heritable sheriffships of Aberdeen and Inverness. About the same time the king granted the knights-baronets of Scotland the privilege of wearing about their necks an orange-tawny ribband, at which should hang pendant a blue St. Andrew's cross upon a white field, adorned with the arms of Scotland, and an imperial crown, encircled with this motto, *Fax mentis honestæ gloria*, i. e. *Glory is the incentive of a noble mind.*

A.D. 1633.

*Charles
visits Scot-
land.*

At last Charles resolved to perform his long-projected journey to Scotland, whither he carried with him archbishop Laud, as his ecclesiastical minister. His entry into Edinburgh exceeded every thing of that kind that had been hitherto known in Scotland; and the fame of the pageants and preparations drew many spectators even from the continent. He was crowned at Holyrood-house on the 18th of June. During the ceremony Laud gave a remarkable specimen of his frantic zeal; for the archbishop of Glasgow refusing to be clothed in the theatrical robes assigned to him, was forcibly pulled from his seat by Laud, who ordered Maxwell, the violent bishop of Ross, to supply it. Laud preached the coronation sermon, and declaimed furiously in favour of a farther conformity of the church of Scotland to that of England, in discipline and ceremonies. These steps were readily considered as preparatory to the introduction of the English worship, for which the common people in Scotland had an invincible aversion.

*Proceedings
of the par-
liament.*

In the parliament which was now summoned, were laid the foundations of all the subsequent miseries of this reign in Scotland. The lords of the Articles brought in a bill for confirming the royal prerogative, as it had been settled in the year 1606; but tacked to it another bill, passed in 1609, by which the late king was empowered to prescribe apparel to churchmen, with their own consent. According to Burnet, the passing of this act was a personal compliment to James, and it never had been executed in his reign; but it was pretended that this latter act was no more than a matter of form, and intended to keep in awe the members of the opposition. In Scotland the lords and commons sat in one assembly; and Charles was so intent on carrying his point, that he remained in the house during the whole debate. Pulling out of his pocket a list of the members, "I have (said he) all your names here, and will know who will do me service, and who will not, this day". The members were not daunted by this declaration: they offered to conform

to

the act of 1606, relative to the prerogative, but objected to the act of 1609 being tacked to it. A motion was made by the earl of Rothes, that the acts might be divided, and the members in general seemed disposed for a debate; but were silenced by Charles, who peremptorily ordered them to vote, but not to argue^f. The votes being collected, the clerk-register, whose office it was to examine the division, and declare the majority, said, the question was carried in the affirmative. The earl of Rothes insisted, that the majority was for the negative. Charles said, that the report of the clerk-register was to be decisive; and that if Rothes persisted in his opposition, he must stand to the consequences, which were, that he should suffer the penalty of death, which the register must have suffered, had he failed in his proof.

This severity daunted Rothes, and the bill received the royal assent; but nothing less than infatuation could have prevented Charles from seeing the dangerous tendency of such arbitrary conduct.

When the parliament had risen, Charles visited Linlithgow, Stirling, Dumfermling, where he was born, Perth, and Falkland; whence returning, on the 10th of July, and crossing the Forth in a boat, he narrowly escaped being drowned, by getting on board one of his ships; but a boat attending, with eight of his servants, some plate and money, were lost. The ship carried Charles to Leith; and, it is said by some, that, in gratitude for his deliverance, he made a vow to erect a bishoprick at Edinburgh. That he did erect such a bishoprick is certain; but neither Rushworth, nor archbishop Laud in his Diary, mentions the vow, though they both do the storm.

Charles now began to be tired of his abode in that country, as foreseeing the cabals that must be formed by the lords of erection, and others who possessed churchlands, to prevent his resuming them. After the rising of the parliament, and paying some visits to a few of his favourites, he returned to Berwick. Leaving here the greater part of his train, he posted, with sixteen domestics, to Greenwich, where the queen had been brought to bed of the unfortunate James VII. some days before. One of the reasons for this dispatch was, to prevent any faction from being formed concerning a successor to the worthy archbishop Abbot, who was now dead; for he immediately filled up the vacancy with Laud.

^f Balfour.

*Trial and
condemnation of lord
Balmerino.*

The general discontent which prevailed in Scotland at this time, and the spirit that had been raised on account of religion, encouraged lord Balmerino (the greatest part of whose estate had been church-property) to resume the thoughts of procuring a formidable subscription to a petition which had been lately framed, and communicated to Charles without any effect. Hague, who was the original mover of it, had retired to Holland; but Balmerino talking with a lawyer, one Denmuir, the latter secured the petition, which had been interlined by Balmerino's hand; and shewing it to Hay of Naughton, who hated Balmerino, Naughton carried it to the archbishop of St. Andrew's, by whom it was sent to Charles, who immediately gave orders to his council to call Balmerino and Denmuir before them. The petition being read, the former owned that it was a true copy of the paper he had given to Denmuir; upon which he was committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, and preparations were made for his trial. The method of proceeding against state-criminals, in matters of libels, in Scotland, when a peer was concerned, was before the lord justice-general, and a court distinct from the jury. The majority of the jury (which consisted of fifteen) were lords of parliament; but they were to give their verdict upon the fact only, the matter of law being reserved for the court. As it was foreseen that it would be very difficult to convict Balmerino, the earl of Traquair, who was supposed to be the shrewdest man, and the best speaker, in Scotland, and was then lord-treasurer, was entrusted with the management of the trial, every step of which was conducted in the most arbitrary manner, and so illegal, that Balmerino must have been acquitted, had not sir Robert Spotswood, president of the college of justice, and son to the archbishop, with sir John Hay, clerk-register, and sir James Learmount, been, by the interest of the bishops, joined as assessors to the justice-general. The matter continued in debate many months; but, at last, the bishops and the court-party prevailed; so that Balmerino was found guilty, though but by one voice: "First, in keeping and concealing the said libel, contrary to the acts of parliament and the laws of the land, and not revealing the same: secondly, in not apprehending the libeller, when in his power, but furthering his escape: thirdly, in being art and part of the said libel, as evidently appeared by a copy of the same, interlined with the said lord's hand." The sentence of death

death was accordingly passed upon the convict; but execution was staid until the king's pleasure should be known.

So general was the indignation against this trial, that the people had resolved to set the prisoner free by force; or, if he should be executed, to revenge his death on the court and the eight jurors; but Charles, upon the representation of Traquair, thought proper to grant Balmerino a pardon.

The promotion of Spotswood, archbishop of St. Andrew's, to the office of chancellor, afforded the nation a melancholy prospect both of religion and civil government. The people were sufficiently acquainted with Laud's furious zeal; and they suspected that Spotswood had obtained his new dignity by unwarrantable compliances to the English prelate. Many of them made no distinction between Laud's episcopacy and popery itself. The various religious ceremonies, and the splendid robes which he introduced among the ecclesiastics, were considered as indications of a settled design to restore the rites of the Romish church; and this opinion greatly favoured the interests of those who dreaded the project of resumptions. To complete the ruin of the royal interest in Scotland, Laud was solicited, by the most violent among the bishops, to procure the dismissal of Traquair from the office of treasurer, and prevail with Charles to appoint bishop Maxwell in his room. At the instigation, as is supposed, of Laud, the same prelates, not contented with the English liturgy being introduced into the royal chapel, petitioned Charles that it should be used in all churches throughout Scotland, until another liturgy could be drawn up. This innovation was opposed by the moderate part of the prelacy, who foretold the consequences of rendering the use even of the English liturgy more general. Traquair, sensible of the great ascendancy which Laud had over the king, determined, as the only means of preserving his own interest at court, to affect approbation of all that had been proposed by that prelate. This conduct recommended him so effectually to the young bishops, that they represented him to Laud as the only man in Scotland who could carry his schemes into execution. These were in such forwardness, that a book of canons for the church of Scotland was actually finished, and carried by Maxwell to London, where it was confirmed under the great seal; and Maxwell promised,

mised, that the like dispatch should be used in composing the new liturgy.

The people had no sooner received intelligence of the proposed innovations, than they were thrown into a violent ferment. Charles, in the mean time, committed to Traquair the management of the Scottish clergy; while the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and Maxwell, bishop of Ross, were instructed, by letters from Laud, to do nothing in ecclesiastical affairs without privately consulting that nobleman; with whom, however, they were farther enjoined to avoid all appearance of intercourse. Traquair, who seems to have been a concealed enemy to prelates, continued to profess great zeal for the new-modelled worship; well knowing that those ecclesiastical dignitaries could not be more effectually ruined than by prosecuting Laud's schemes. As soon as the liturgy was completed, it was sent up to Charles, who, without consulting any ecclesiastical judicature in Scotland, returned it with a set of instructions, addressed to the archbishops and bishops.

*State of
parties in
Scotland.*

The people of Scotland, at this time, were divided into several parties. The first consisted of the remains of the Roman catholics, among whom were some noble families, with some persons of desperate fortunes. These, being obnoxious to the public, concerned themselves very little in the affairs of government, and generally lived retired upon their own estates; but were generally well affected to the person of Charles. The second party comprehended those who wished well to monarchy, and would have conformed to a moderate episcopacy; but could not bear to see the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland so much governed by Laud, a prelate who could not pretend to any legal authority in the kingdom. The members of this party had, for the most part, great possessions in land; and therefore they were jealous of the king's civil claims, which they also saw enforced with a power that favoured of despotism. The third party consisted of men who were entirely indifferent with regard to religion, and who had no other object but to prevent the resumption of their estates. The fourth comprised the violent presbyterians, some of them the disciples, and all of them the followers of Knox. They were ignorant, bold, and enthusiastic opposers of episcopacy in every shape; and were managed with great address by the last mentioned party; so that when joined together, they were an overmatch, in the field and parliament, for the other two classes, especially as the

the king had omitted to support his arbitrary measures by a body of troops.

The furious zeal of archbishop Laud contributed more than any other measure of administration to complete the ruin of the royal interest in Scotland. By his instigation, some of the bishops petitioned Charles that the English liturgy should be used in all the churches of that kingdom, until another should be drawn up. The more moderate of the prelates opposed this innovation, which failed not soon to throw the people into a dangerous ferment. But Charles, so far from being discouraged by the public discontent, prosecuted his favourite scheme with redoubled ardor.

Furious measures of Laud.

He issued a proclamation, enjoining all his subjects in Scotland to conform themselves to the liturgy; and that two copies of the Book of Common Prayer should be provided for every parish in the kingdom. The 23d of July, 1637, was appointed for the day when it was to be first used at Edinburgh. When this period arrived, the audience in the High Church was very respectable. It consisted, among others, of the two archbishops, several bishops, and other privy-counsellors, the lords of session, and the magistrates of Edinburgh. The service was no sooner begun than the lower people, who had assembled in great numbers, saluted the officiating clergyman with such volleys of execrations, and other marks of indignation, that he durst not proceed; and the bishop of Edinburgh stepped into the desk, that he might try what he could do to quiet the disturbance. His appearance served only to render the populace more outrageous. The great officers of state next interposed, but with no better success; and it was with difficulty that the magistrates were able, partly by force, and partly by authority, to expel the populace, and to shut the doors against them. The tumult, however, still continued without. Stones were thrown at the doors and windows; and, when the service was ended, the bishop, going home, was attacked, and narrowly escaped from the hands of the enraged multitude ^b.

A.D. 1637.

Proclamation for receiving the liturgy.

Tumult at Edinburgh.

Next day the council issued a proclamation, prohibiting, under pain of death, all tumultuous meetings in Edinburgh; and the magistrates of that city were enjoined to use their utmost endeavours for apprehending the rioters.

In the mean time, the archbishop of St. Andrew's, by orders from court, had begun a criminal prosecution

^b Balfour.

against two of the ministers, Henderson and Bruce, for not reading the liturgy. Henderson had formerly been of the episcopal persuasion; and was considered not only as a man of learning, but the ablest politician among the clergy. Both of them, confident of the support which they would receive from the people, boldly presented to the council a petition, desiring that the proceedings against them should be suspended. Maxwell was the first who gave his voice in the affirmative; and he was seconded by the archbishop of St. Andrew's. In consequence of the opinion of these two leading ecclesiastics, the council came to a resolution, that it was not proper to press the reading of the service book, until his majesty's pleasure should be known; and to recommend to the king the consideration of the petition. A letter was accordingly drawn up to Charles in those terms; and the petitioners were promised to receive an answer by the 20th of September.

To this representation of the council Charles returned an answer strongly marked with dissatisfaction, and throwing the whole blame of the late tumults on the coolness or cowardice of his council in Scotland, and the magistrates of Edinburgh. He concluded with a peremptory order, that every bishop should command the book to be read in his diocese, as the bishops of Ross and Dumblane had already done; and that no borough should choose any magistrate who did not conform to the same.

When the privy-counsellors met to consider of a reply to this letter, they were attended by great crowds of the populace, headed by the nobility and gentry from every corner of the kingdom, with petitions against the service-book. No less than sixty-eight petitions were presented in this manner. The bishops who had hitherto been in the interests of Laud, at length became intimidated, and several of them retired to their dioceses. Their defection served Traquair to excellent purpose; as the old bishops were totally averse to the introduction of the new liturgy; and a great majority of the lay counsellors were privately of the same mind; while none of the bishops, except those of Edinburgh, Galloway, and Dumblane, had the courage to remain in the capital.

When an account of these proceedings was sent by Traquair to Laud, that prelate was struck with astonishment, particularly in regard to the conduct of Maxwell and the archbishop of St. Andrew's; and he sent Traquair a very peevish letter on the subject. Maxwell, and Laud's bishops, by this time, more than suspected that they

they were betrayed by Traquair; though that minister still affected such a zeal for their order, that he and the bishop of Edinburgh narrowly escaped being torn to pieces in the streets of that city by the populace. The earls of Rothes, Cassils, Eglinton, Hume, Lothian, and Wemys; the lords Lindfay, Yester, Balmerino, Cranston, and Loudon, with numbers of the leading gentry and burghesses all over the kingdom, openly declared themselves against the liturgy; and in this they were countenanced by the silence or acquiescence of the old prelates. Hope, the king's advocate, was occasionally consulted, how far they might go, without being guilty of overt-acts of treason. Regular committees and correspondencies of the party were formed all over the kingdom; and a paper, justifying or explaining their proceedings, was sent to sir William Alexander, now earl of Stirling, and secretary of state for Scotland, to be laid before the king. It is far, however, from being certain that the heads of this opposition really meant to abolish episcopacy. They considered the king's principles and proceedings as incompatible with the enjoyment of civil as well as religious liberty; and they, undoubtedly, disliked the great sway which the bishops had obtained in the privy-council. Had Charles acted with the least degree of moderation in regard to their petition, which could in no wise have affected the just rights of sovereignty; had he even been contented, for the present, to order a suspension of his unpopular acts relative to the liturgy, the petitioners, it is unquestionable, would have departed peaceably to their respective homes.

Charles, instead of following this prudent conduct, ordered his privy-council not to hold the proposed meeting, at which they were to have given an answer to the petitioners; but to punish the authors of the tumults at Edinburgh, to adjourn the council to Linlithgow, and to enjoin all the subjects, who were waiting at Edinburgh for an answer to the petition, to repair to their respective dwellings, under pain of rebellion. Those violent measures served only to increase the public commotion; and when the council met at Linlithgow, the ferment rose so high, that the members dispatched new representations to the king, on the necessity of moderation. The earl of Roxburgh, who was lord privy-seal, about the same time, went to London, to give Charles a true idea of the situation of Scotland, which he seems to have performed with great candour. Ramsay and Rollock, two of the ministers of Edinburgh, who had hitherto been neutral, now

joined the petitioners. In this distracted period, the king's proclamation for suppressing all meetings of the people had no effect. The petitioners, instead of dispersing themselves, became daily more formidable; until their outrages against the bishops who remained at Edinburgh, and the ministers of state, whom they considered as their enemies, exceeded whatever had been known before in the most violent tumults.

The chief managers of their secret intrigues were Balmerino and Henderson; the former with the laity, and the latter with the clergy; and they now found their party so strong, that Henderson laid before the bishops the following proposal: "That whereas they had formerly petitioned against the service-book, they might now take in the bishops, whom they complain of as underminers of religion, and crave justice to be done on them." From this proposition, however, many of the ministers dissented; saying, that the removal of the service-book was their only object; and they had no quarrel with the order of bishops. But this order was the principal grievance in the eyes of some of the nobility, though they had not before ventured to avow it. The earls of Rothes and Loudon put themselves at the head of this opposition; and being informed that the ministers were not so pliable as they expected, they repaired to their meeting, where they were so active, that the challenge (as it was called) against the bishops was signed by the majority, and copies of it circulated all over the kingdom, to be subscribed by the clergy who were absent, and to be presented to the council on the 15th of November. The subscription proceeded with great rapidity; and in every quarter, the people now saw themselves headed by many of the chief nobility. Among these was the earl of Montrose, who so much distinguished himself afterwards against the covenanters.

Such was the state of affairs, when a proclamation was sent down from London, declaring the king's abhorrence of popery, and his resolution "to do nothing against the laudable laws of his native kingdom." The council was then sitting at Linlithgow, and the discontented party again assembled at Edinburgh. The earl of Loudon was chosen to deliver their sentiments; and having gained admittance to the council-room, he made a speech, in which he inveighed strongly against popery, the order of bishops, and the religious innovations lately introduced. He concluded with presenting what he called a declinature against the bishops, and he protested that they should not there-

after be permitted to sit as judges till their cause was decided, because they were parties. "We neither crave," continued he, "their blood, nor harm to their persons; but that the abuses and wrongs done by them may be truly remonstrated to his majesty; that after due trial of the wrongs, such order may be taken as the evils may be remedied; and that the power which they have taken may be restrained, that the like evils may be prevented in time to come." Two deputies from the clergy, Mr. James Cunningham and Mr. Thomas Ramsay, were then heard on the same side; and the lords receiving the petitions and the declinature, promised that no prejudice should accrue to the cause of the petitioners, until the royal pleasure should be known. During these transactions the council met at Edinburgh, Dalkeith, Linlithgow, or Stirling; and whithersoever the members went, they were followed by great crowds of the people, seldom less than two thousand, who continually pestered them with petitions. One of these was from the women, children, and servants, of Edinburgh. This petition was presented at Stirling by a great number of armed men, who insulted the chancellor archbishop, and afterwards returned to the capital.

Amidst these tumultuous proceedings, no regard was paid to either public or private business; and such was the concourse of people from every quarter to Edinburgh, that the neighbouring country could not supply food sufficient for the multitude that daily arrived. A scheme was at last projected for removing this evil. As the petitioners still professed the most implicit obedience to the king's authority, it was agreed that the common people should return to their respective habitations; and that four noblemen, four barons, four burghesses, and four ministers, (but the numbers were afterwards doubled), should be left as committees for their several orders, to treat with the privy-council.

Though it was violently suspected that the populace had been instigated by some of higher condition, yet no proof of it could be produced; and every one spoke with disapprobation of the licentiousness of the multitude. It was not thought safe, however, to hazard a new insult by any other attempt to read the liturgy; and the people seemed, for the time, to be appeased and satisfied. But it being known, that the king persevered in his intentions of imposing that mode of worship, men resorted to Edinburgh, from all quarters, to oppose the introduction of so hated a novelty. Petitions to the council were signed and

presented by persons of the highest quality. The women took part, and, as usual, with violence. The clergy every where loudly declaimed against popery and the liturgy, which they represented as the same; and symptoms appeared, on all hands, of the most dangerous insurrection and disorder.

A.D. 1638.

To so violent a combination of the whole kingdom, Charles had nothing to oppose but a proclamation; in which he pardoned all past offences, and exhorted the people to be more obedient for the future, and to submit peaceably to the use of the liturgy. This proclamation was instantly encountered by a public protest, presented by the earl of Hume and lord Lindsay; and this was the first time that men of quality had appeared in any violent act of opposition. The insurrection, which had been gradually advancing, now blazed up at once. No disorder, however, attended it. On the contrary, some political regulations were established. Four tables, as they were called, were formed in Edinburgh. One consisted of nobility, another of gentry, a third of ministers, and a fourth of burghesses. The table of gentry was divided into many subordinate tables, according to their different counties. In the hands of the four tables, the whole authority of the kingdom was placed. Orders were issued by them, which were every where obeyed, with the utmost regularity; and among the first acts of their government was the production of the Covenant. This famous deed consisted first of a renunciation of popery, formerly signed by James in his youth, and composed of many invectives, fitted to inflame the mind with religious animosities. Then followed a bond of union, by which the subscribers obliged themselves to resist all innovations in the church, and to defend each other against all opposition. The people, without distinction of rank, age, or sex, flocked to the subscription of this covenant. The king's ministers and counsellors themselves were, most of them, seized by the general contagion; and none but rebels to God, and traitors to their country, it was thought, would withdraw themselves from so salutary and so pious a combination.

The Covenant.

Power was now given to all ranks and degrees of men to administer the covenant. Copies of it were every where distributed, and signed with great avidity. Such was the frantic zeal of many, that, instead of ink, they used for this purpose their own blood. The northern parts, through the influence of the Gordons, were more free from this spirit than the southern; and it was strenuously opposed by

by the university of Aberdeen. They represented the solemn league and covenant as being a copy of that which had been adopted by the French leaguers against their lawful kings; and this objection had weight with many, especially those who were not yet reconciled either to the doctrine or the practicability of resisting the royal power.

By order of the king, a proclamation was issued at Stirling, approving of the prayer-book; and commanding that all resort to that town, except by the inhabitants, and such as had licences from the council, should be discontinued. This proclamation was no sooner read, than the earl of Hume and lord Lindsay, as had been previously concerted with the other heads of the party, publicly protested against it, and dispatched authentic copies of their protest to other cities and towns.

This protest consisted of the following articles. In the first place, they demanded an immediate recourse to the king to present their grievances. Secondly, they protested against the jurisdiction of the bishops, of whom they demanded a legal trial, for the crimes laid to their charge. Thirdly, they protested against all acts, either in council or out of council, in which the bishops were parties, in prejudice to the protesters. Fourthly, they protested against being affected by any act political or ecclesiastical, introduced without, or against, the acts of the general assembly, or of parliament; and they claimed the liberty of serving God according to his word, and the constitutions of the church and kingdom. Fifthly, they protested against being answerable for any dangerous consequences that may result from a refusal of their demands; and lastly, they, in fact, protested against the king's refusing to comply with them.

The day on which the protest was made, the people assembled at Stirling in numerous bodies; and a proposal was made for putting the chancellor archbishop to death; but it was over-ruled by the nobility.

At the head of these associators was the earl of Argyle. This nobleman was descended from an ancient family, which, though one of the least dependent in the kingdom, had been remarkably attached to the race of the Stuarts. Archibald, at this time earl of Argyle, to a liberal education, joined exemplary private virtue, and soundness of judgment. He excelled in the knowledge of the law and constitution of his country; and when at court, he had very freely represented to Charles the dangerous consequences of aggrandizing the episcopal order in Scotland.

*Characters
of the co-
venanting
noblemen.*

This freedom displeased Laud and the clergy; and though he was regarded by the public as by far the most proper person to hold the great seal, Charles impolitically gave it to the archbishop of St. Andrew's. This partiality, it is probable, increased Argyle's prepossessions against episcopacy; so that he now avowedly joined in the opposition to the court.

The earl of Montrose was now about twenty-four years of age, and gave indications of that heroic genius for which he became afterwards so much distinguished. He had been disgusted with the arrogant pre-eminence of churchmen; and was too jealous of the independency of Scotland, to behold her, without impatience, taking the law from an English prelate, and the seat of her government transferred to England. He no sooner declared himself for the covenant, than the party pointed him out as the most proper nobleman in Scotland to head them in the field.

The earl of Rothes, another of the covenanters, though said not to be exemplary in his morals, was of a most obliging temper, and possessed, in an eminent degree, all the arts of popularity. With respect to the other heads of the party, they seem all of them to have been men of sense and resolution, and knew extremely well how to make the best of the cause they had undertaken.

While the ferment was proceeding in Scotland, Charles was startled by the arrival of the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and Laud's other bishops, whom the fury of the covenanters had driven into England; and when he saw them followed by Traquair, to whom he chiefly entrusted the management of ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland, he began to apprehend bad consequences from the measures which had been pursued. Laud had prepossessed Charles considerably against the Scottish bishops, even those of his own recommending, for having so tamely yielded to the suspension of the service-book, and for so hastily abandoning the duties of their function, on the breaking out of the commotions in Scotland. Traquair embraced this favourable opportunity of suggesting to the king the expediency of milder measures; and he was seconded by the lord justice-clerk, who had been sent up by the rest of the council with full instructions as to the state of Scotland, and the means of restoring its tranquillity. They were joined in opinion by the earl of Roxburgh, for whom Charles had always expressed a personal regard; but after all, neither they, nor the counsellors who remained in Scotland,

Scotland, had the courage to speak the whole truth. They represented their countrymen as being still reclaimable by some concessions, such as that of desisting from the enforcement of the liturgy, and quieting their apprehensions in respect to the resumption of church-lands.

It appears that the tenderness of Traquair, and the justice-clerk, in concealing from Charles the true spirit of his Scottish subjects, led him into fatal mistakes, and only served to confirm his obstinacy. He thought that the covenanters might still be subdued, by persevering in his main design, and offering a pardon to all who should return to their duty. In the mean time, he was not a little offended with his counsellors, for receiving the declinature, and suffering the jurisdiction of the bishops to be debated at their board. While he was deliberating how to proceed, the covenanters drew up a paper, consisting of eight articles, which they sent up to London, as the only terms upon which the tranquillity of their country could be re-established. The first and second demanded a discharge of the liturgy, the book of canons, and the high commission; a fresh grievance which had lately been introduced. By the third, the articles of Perth were to be revoked, as a capital source of all the spiritual grievances they complained of. By the fourth, they declare against bishops (whom they there name ministers) holding civil places, or seats in parliament. In the fifth, they complained of lay presentations, subscriptions, and oaths; and demanded that all presentations in future should be in presbyteries. The sixth required a lawful and free national assembly of the church; the seventh a meeting of the parliament; and the eighth, that instructions should be given for treating of all those matters in those two assemblies.

*Demands
of the Co-
venanters-*

In this situation of affairs, the king sent the marquis of Hamilton, as commissioner, with power to treat with the covenanters. He required the covenant to be renounced and recalled; and he thought, that on his part he had made very satisfactory concessions, when he offered to suspend the canons and the liturgy, until, in a fair and legal way, they could be received; and so to model the high-commission, that it should no longer give any offence. But such general declarations were little adapted to dispel the public apprehensions; and the covenanters found themselves seconded by the zeal of the whole nation. Above sixty thousand people assembled in a tumultuous manner in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood. In

*The mar-
quis of
Hamilton
commission-
er.*

answer

Sept. 17.

answer to Hamilton's demand of renouncing the covenant, they plainly told him, that they would sooner renounce their baptism. Hamilton returned to London; made another fruitless journey, with new concessions, to Edinburgh; returned again to London; and was immediately sent back with still more satisfactory concessions. The king was now willing entirely to abolish the canons, the liturgy, and the high-commission court. He was resolved to limit extremely the power of the bishops, and was content, if, on any terms, he could retain that order in the church of Scotland. To ensure all these gracious offers, he gave Hamilton authority to summon first an assembly, and then a parliament, where every national grievance might be redressed.

Upon the return of Hamilton with those instructions, and others of a like accommodating nature, all the subjects who were not enthusiastically bent upon rebellion, rejoiced at the prospect of tranquillity being restored to their country. The privy-council unanimously signed the negative confession of faith (as it was called) and covenant of the late reign, while the king's free pardon was proclaimed; and the liturgy, the book of canons, the high commission, and the Perth articles publicly revoked. By these and several other concessions the courage of the covenanters was damped; and they demanded time to consider of their signing the old confession. This being refused, they entered a formal protest against all that had been done by the lord commissioner and the lords of the council, who had unanimously agreed that Charles had to the full gratified them in all reasonable demands. A proclamation was issued for the meeting both of the general assembly and the parliament; but this was protested against by the earl of Montrose, at the head of the covenanters.

*A counter
covenant.*

Charles, perceiving what advantage his enemies had reaped from their covenant, resolved to have a covenant on his side; and accordingly ordered one to be drawn up. It consisted of the same violent renunciation of popery abovementioned; which, though the king did not approve of, he thought it safest to adopt, in order to remove the suspicions entertained against him. As the covenanters, in their bond of mutual defence against all opposition, had been careful not to except the king; Charles had formed a bond, which was annexed to this renunciation, and which expressed the duty and loyalty of the subscribers to his majesty. But the covenanters, perceiving that this

new

new covenant was only meant to weaken and divide them, received it with the utmost scorn and detestation. Without delay they proceeded to model the future assembly, from which no great achievements were expected.

By an edict of the tables, the authority of which was supreme, an elder from each parish was ordered to attend the presbytery, and to give his vote in the choice both of the commissioners and ministers, who should be deputed to the assembly. As it is not usual for the ministers, who are put in the list of candidates, to claim a vote, all the election, by that means, fell into the hands of the laity. The most furious of all ranks were chosen; and the more to over-awe the clergy, a new device was fallen upon, of choosing to every commissioner, four or five lay-assessors, who, though they could have no vote, might yet interpose with their advice and authority in the assembly.

The assembly met at Glasgow; and, besides a great concourse of the people, all the nobility and gentry of any family or interest were present, either as members, assessors, or spectators. A firm determination had been entered into of abolishing episcopacy; and as a preparative to that measure, there was laid before the presbytery of Edinburgh, and solemnly read in all the churches of the kingdom, an accusation against the bishops, as guilty, all of them, of heresy, simony, bribery, perjury, cheating, incest, adultery, fornication, common swearing, drunkenness, gaming, breach of the Sabbath, and every other crime that had occurred to the accusers. The bishops sent a protest, declining the authority of the assembly; the commissioner too protested against that court, as illegally constituted and elected; and in his majesty's name, dissolved it. The court, however, continued to sit, and to finish their business. All the acts of assembly, since the accession of James to the crown of England, were declared invalid. The acts of parliament, which affected ecclesiastical affairs, were supposed, on that very account, to have no authority. Thus episcopacy, the high-commission, the articles of Perth, the canons, and the liturgy, were abolished and declared unlawful; and the whole ecclesiastical fabric, which James and Charles had reared with so much care, fell at once to the ground. The covenant likewise was ordered to be signed by every person, under pain of excommunication.

A general assembly.

Episcopacy abolished.

Both parties were all this while proceeding with great diligence in their preparation for war. The chief resources of the Scottish malcontents were in themselves. No regular

A.D. 1639.

Preparations for war.

gular established commonwealth could take juster measures, or execute them with greater promptitude, than did this tumultuous combination. The whole kingdom was, in a manner, engaged; and men of the greatest abilities soon acquired the ascendant, which their family interest enabled them to maintain. Many Scottish officers, who had acquired reputation in the German wars, particularly under Gustavus, were invited over to assist their country in the present necessity. The command was entrusted to Lesley, a soldier of experience and abilities. Forces were enlisted and disciplined. Arms were commissioned and imported from foreign countries. A few castles, which belonged to the king, being unprovided with stores and garrisons, were soon seized; and the whole country, except a small part, where the marquis of Huntley still adhered to the king, being in the hands of the covenanters, was, in a very little time, put in a tolerable posture of defence. The fortifications of Leith were begun and carried on with great rapidity. Incredible numbers of volunteers, even noblemen and gentlemen, put their hands to the work. Women too, of rank, forgetting the delicacy of their sex, and the decorum of their character, were intermingled with the lowest rabble, and carried on their shoulders the rubbish, requisite for completing the fortifications.

In the mean time, the earl of Argyle sat in the assembly at Glasgow, after it had been declared treasonable; and was the soul of all their deliberations, though Montrose was more active. A new protestation, more strong and more solemn than the preceding, was made by him at the Cross of Edinburgh in the name of the nobility; by Mr. Alexander Gibson, of Drury, the younger, in the name of the gentry; by George Porterfield, burghers of Glasgow, in the name of the boroughs; and by Mr. Henry Rollock, in the name of the ministers. A parliament had been summoned to meet at Edinburgh on the 15th day of May; and the lord commissioner had retired to his house at Hamilton, to wait the event of the preparations on both sides. He thence informed Charles by sir James Hamilton, of the necessity he was under to forward the expedition; and to send commissions of lieutenancy to the marquis of Huntley, the earls of Traquair, Roxburgh, Perth, and other well-affected peers. But at last the posture of affairs became so dangerous, and his own attendants so unfaithful, that Hamilton found himself obliged to repair in person to London.

A few

A few well-affected nobility, however, still made head against the rebels. The earl of Roxburgh continued to preserve Teviotdale in its allegiance; but was soon obliged to yield to the covenanters. The marquis of Douglas, by being popish, could not do the king the service he wished; and his castle of Tantallon was seized by the covenanters; so that almost all Scotland, south of the Tay, fell under their power without bloodshed. In Angus, the earls of Airly and Southesk declared for the king; but the strength of the royal cause lay with Huntley in the North. That nobleman had demanded of Charles two or three thousand men, and arms for five thousand more. They were promised him, but never sent, though Morton, bishop of Durham, is said to have furnished him, at his own expence, with arms for three thousand foot, and a hundred horse. The marquis of Hamilton was censured for this disappointment, which Huntley said disabled him from doing the king the most decisive services.

The heads of the covenanters, who did not expect to see such an appearance of royalists in Scotland, exerted themselves with amazing activity. They had seized upon the castle of Dumbarton, which, like that of Edinburgh, had been most unaccountably left defenceless. Besides Lesley, they had engaged Monro, and several other officers of reputation. Monro had a command upon the borders, where he over-awed Roxburgh and the earl of Nithsdale, as well as kept an eye upon the incursions of the English. The earl of Argyle undertook to guard the western coast, and to oppose any descent that might be made from Ireland in favour of the king. He had raised a regiment of a thousand men, who had surprised and garrisoned the marquis of Hamilton's castle in the isle of Arran. The earl of Montrose was appointed their general in the North, where Lesley was to serve under him against the marquis of Huntley. This nobleman soon offered to negotiate with Montrose for a pacification; and Montrose seemed not to decline the treaty, though his answer was ambiguous, and he continued his preparations for marching against the enemy. At last, an interview was procured between those two generals; and Huntley, upon Montrose's invitation, repaired to the camp of the covenanters at Inveroury, where a pacification for the North was agreed upon. Montrose was to return with his army southwards. Huntley was to disband his, and was not to molest any of the covenanters within the bounds of his lieutenancy. The heads of both parties at the
same

same time signed a paper, which, according to bishop Guthrie, was substantially the same with the covenant; but the friends of Huntley affirm with greater appearance of truth, that it only bound him to maintain the king's authority, with the liberties and religion of the kingdom. After this transaction, Huntley and Montrose parted, seemingly good friends, and each retired to his own house. The covenanters were dissatisfied at the loose terms of the paper signed by Huntley; and the earl of Argyle plundered the lands, and burnt the houses of the royalists, and to the North as far as Aberdeen. Upon his arrival at that city, he joined the army commanded by Montrose, which had now received considerable reinforcements from the northern covenanters. Under the pretence of settling the peace of the North, Huntley was invited to a meeting at Aberdeen; and receiving a safe-conduct from Montrose, as commander in chief, he went thither attended by his two eldest sons, the lord Gordon and the viscount of Aboyn; but when he reached Aberdeen, he found himself a prisoner. He and his eldest son were carried in custody to Edinburgh; but Aboyn was dismissed upon his parole, that he would surrender himself when called upon. It is difficult to vindicate Montrose's honour in this transaction, but by supposing he was obliged to comply with a superior interest. The seizure of Huntley and his son proved afterwards of very pernicious consequence to the king's affairs; because when Montrose changed his party, Huntley was so much prepossessed against him that they never could act in concert with each other.

Notwithstanding Charles's great aversion to violent measures, and his strong affection to his native kingdom, his attachment to the hierarchy prevailed for the time, and made him hasten his military preparations. Charles's fleet was formidable and well supplied. Having put five thousand land-forces on board, he entrusted it to the marquis of Hamilton, who had orders to sail to the Frith of Forth, and to cause a diversion to the forces of the malcontents. He was furnished with a proclamation drawn up by his majesty, in which he recited the affronts his authority had received from the covenanters, and his intention to assert the rights of the crown, with the means which God had put in his hand; offering, at the same time, an indemnity to such as should, within eight days, lay down their arms, a few persons only excepted; and declaring such as should not obey, to be rebels, setting a

price upon their heads, and ordering their vassals and tenants not to acknowledge them, nor pay them rents. The covenanters had neglected to fortify the islands of Inchkeith and Inchcolm; and the marquis not venturing to land, either on the Lothian or the Fife coasts, set his men a-shore on those small islands; but the covenanters at Edinburgh refused to suffer the king's proclamation to be published. While the marquis was lying with his ships in the Forth, he had many meetings with his friends and relations, who magnified the power and interest of the covenanters so highly, as rendered him extremely cautious how to proceed. This disposition was probably increased by the behaviour of his mother, who was so zealous a covenanter, that she raised some troops at her own expence, and headed them in person; and when she came to Leith, protested she would kill her son with her own hands, if he should venture to land in a hostile manner.

The representations sent up by Hamilton to Charles startled that prince so much, that he ordered him not to begin hostilities in the South; but seemed inclined to send a detachment to his friends in the North. Hamilton, in answer to this, transmitted a paper, containing certain heads for an accommodation, but differing very little from those which had been so often rejected; and Charles gave him leave to amuse the covenanters with a negotiation, until he heard that the English army had entered Scotland. In the meanwhile, Hamilton's representations had such an effect upon him, that he ordered the marquis to send three of the regiments which were with him, to join the English army at Holy Island. This part of the king's injunctions was obeyed; but Hamilton neglected to execute the other, by sending the remainder of his troops to the assistance of lord Aboyn; and this appears to be the most exceptionable part of his conduct.

Notwithstanding the spirit and resolution with which the covenanters seemed at this time to be actuated, they certainly were under difficulties how to proceed. The money with which they had been supplied from France by cardinal Richlieu, who secretly fomented the disaffection in Scotland, was now exhausted; and they had a numerous army on foot, without the necessary resources for maintaining them. The concessions of Charles had made a visible impression upon many; and the country of the earl of Argyle, the head of their party, was daily threatened with an invasion from Ireland; while the English army was also continuing to advance northwards. But all these disadvantages were compensated by the strong party
they

they had among the English nobility then at York, many of whom were earnest with Charles for a pacification, a counsel which he secretly disliked. An oath was framed, which was to be administered by way of test to the officers, professing their loyalty and obedience to his majesty, and disclaiming all correspondence with the rebels. All the Scots in the royal army readily took this oath; but it was refused by the lord Brook and the lord Say; for which Charles ordered them to be confined to their own houses. Others of the English nobility dreaded the consequence of Charles's conquering Scotland, and reducing that kingdom to an entire dependence on himself. A regiment of Irish, which had been sent over by the lord-deputy, had entered Carlisle; and before Charles began his march, he ordered the earl of Essex to advance, by forced marches, to take possession of Berwick. The army of the covenanters had now advanced towards the borders of England; and had they not been destitute of money, or perhaps afraid of exasperating the English too much, they might have surprised Berwick before the arrival of Essex, who, to the great joy of Charles, entered it without opposition.

Lesley, who commanded the covenanting army, was then encamped at Duns; and on the 2d of June the English army was encamped near Berwick, whence Charles gave positive orders to the marquis of Hamilton to enter upon hostilities. The king was encouraged to this measure by the earl of Queensberry, the lord Johnston and Buccleugh, beside many other noblemen and gentlemen upon the borders, who declared in his favour. According to Burnet; the day after Hamilton received these orders, and was preparing to put them in execution, he was in danger of being made prisoner by the covenanters, the vessel in which he was having run a-ground. On the other hand, he is charged by bishop Guthrie with being amused by the covenanters, and lying in a shameful inactivity. Nor indeed, admitting the accident of his danger to be true, is it easy to account for his conduct. The covenanters had been supplied by one Dick, a rich merchant, and zealous in the cause, with large sums of money, which had put their army again in motion; while the assurances of being assisted by Hamilton, had assembled the gentlemen of the name of Gordon, and many others in the North, who had formed themselves into an association in support of the king. Though they were at a loss for a leader, the marquis of Huntley and his eldest son

son remaining prisoners, and lord Aboyn with Charles, yet they agreed to put themselves under the command of sir John Gordon of Haddo, and sir George Ogilvie of Bamff, who surprised the covenanters lying at Turref, and drove the mout of the place. Being now joined by a body of Highlanders, they marched to Aberdeen, where they lived at free quarter upon the covenanters; but having no commission from the king to rise in arms, they were persuaded by Straloch to return home. They had scarce come to this resolution when they were informed that the earl of Seaforth, the lord Lovat, the Dunbars, the Innes's of Murray, and the Grants of Strathspey were in arms against them; and that Montrose was likewise on his march northwards with the design of giving them battle. It happened, however, that the northern covenanters were only assembled to defend themselves, and a compromise between them and the royalists was easily effected; while Montrose, though his army consisted of about four thousand men, after committing some slight hostilities against the Gordons, returned southwards, in consequence of information that the lord Aboyn, with a considerable reinforcement, and a commission of lieutenancy from Charles, was coming by sea to Aberdeen. Lord Aboyn, accordingly, with three thousand foot and five hundred horse, soon made himself master of that city; after which he prepared to attack the earl marshal, who was a zealous covenanter, and then to march to Angus, and join the earl of Airly. In the mean time, Aboyn, having no money, lived at free quarters. He had in his army one colonel Gun, who had served abroad, and is accused of having betrayed him. The army of the loyalists was attended along the coast by a small squadron of ships, which carried their cannon and ammunition; but a strong wind blowing them to sea, the royalists were deprived of their assistance. Almost every step which they afterwards took was injudicious and unfortunate; and it was publicly said among the officers, that they were betrayed by Gun, who had been recommended to Aboyn by the marquis of Hamilton. A skirmish, in which the Highlanders lost a few men by cannon-shot, discouraged them so much, that they deserted in companies; and Aboyn was forced to return with the remainder of his army to Aberdeen. They were pursued by Montrose; but they made a stand at the bridge of Dee, whence they were driven with some loss, and the whole army was soon after dispersed. Montrose once more took possession of Aberdeen, which he was pressed

by lord Frazer, and other violent covenanters, to burn to the ground ; but he was content with imposing a large mulct upon the inhabitants, and imprisoning forty-eight of the most forward of the royalists.

In the South, the covenanters, who now lay in sight of the enemy, published several proclamations, to conciliate the good opinion of the English, professing the greatest duty to the king, and declaring that they would not act offensively. This moderation was partly the result of necessity, as want of money had obliged one half of their army to return home ; so that Lesley had not with him above twelve thousand effective men. The earl of Holland, with a body of a thousand horse, and three thousand foot, was sent by Charles to take possession of Kelso ; but having arrived at a rising ground above that town with his horse, and sent his infantry forward, he perceived a body of the enemy, consisting of about three thousand men, advancing to attack him. Holland, who was secretly a friend to the covenanters, affected to believe that the party was ten thousand strong ; and giving orders to recal his foot (though his orders were to fight) he carried back his detachment safe to Charles, whose army was then encamped at a place called Birks, or Huntley-field. This cowardly retreat, with the visible backwardness of the English to act against the Scots, and the exaggerated accounts daily received of the force of the rebels, seems to have dissipated the hope which Charles entertained of being able to subdue the covenanters. He immediately countermanded the orders he had sent for Hamilton to act offensively, and desired him to repair to his camp, which the marquis accordingly did. The king, having called a council of war, found the members almost unanimously inclined to a treaty.

In this situation of affairs, the covenanters, who there is great reason to think maintained a secret correspondence with the king's train, left their camp, and advanced towards that of Charles, drew up their army in array. After some conferences between a few members of both parties, it was agreed that the earl of Dumfermling should be admitted on the part of the covenanters to present Charles with the following petition.

“ To the king's most excellent majesty,

“ The humble petition of his majesty's subjects of Scotland, humbly sheweth, That whereas former means used by us, hath not been effectual for recovering your majesty's favour, and the peace of your majesty's kingdom,

dom, we fall down again at your majesty's feet, most humbly supplicating that your majesty would be graciously pleased to appoint some few of your majesty's many worthy men of your majesty's kingdom of England, who are well affected to the true religion, and common peace, to hear by some of us of the same affection, of our humble desires; and to make known to us your majesty's gracious pleasure, that as by the providence of God we are here joined in one island, and one king, so by your majesty's great wisdom and tender care, all mistaking may be speedily removed; and the two kingdoms may be kept in peace and happiness under your majesty's long and prosperous reign, for the which we shall never cease, as becomes your majesty's faithful subjects, daily to pray for your majesty's long and happy reign over us^b."

The English counsellors laid hold of this plausible and apparently loyal petition, to persuade the king to a negotiation. Commissioners for this purpose were accordingly appointed on each side. Those for the king were the earls of Arundel, Essex, Holland, Salisbury, and Berkshire, with Mr. Secretary Cook; and for the covenanters, the earls of Rothes and Dumfermling, the lord Loudon, sir William Douglas, Mr. Alexander Henderson, moderator of the assembly at Glasgow, and Mr. Archibald Johnston, clerk to it. The place appointed for the treaty was the tent of the earl of Arundel, the English general; who had no sooner begun an introductory speech, than Charles all of a sudden entered, with this slight apology, "That understanding the Scots gave out they could not be heard, he had come to hear them in person." The commissioners for the covenanters considered this intrusion as an overawing of the conferences; and the earl of Rothes, to give them a general turn, said, that all he and his friends desired, was to be secured in their religion and liberties. The earl of Loudon, who was a young man just come from the university, and full of zeal, beginning to speak, Charles interrupted him with the following reply: "Sir, I will not admit of any of your excuses for your past actions; but if you come to me for grace, set down your desires particularly in writing, and you shall receive your answer." Loudon accordingly drew up such a paper, and it was answered by the king.

At last, a sudden pacification was concluded, in which it was stipulated, that he should withdraw his fleet and

*A hasty
pacifica-
tion.*

^b History of the Pacification at Burks.

army ; that, within eight and forty-hours, the Scots should dismiss their forces ; that the king's forts should be restored to him ; his authority be acknowledged ; and a general assembly and a parliament be immediately summoned, in order to compose all differences^d.

The covenanting army being thus disbanded (though many of them still kept together in bodies), the marquis of Huntley and his son were freed from their imprisonment ; and orders were sent for a suspension of hostilities in the North. All this, however, was a deceitful calm. The leaders of the covenanters thought that they sufficiently provided against any resumption of the church-lands, and against all attacks upon the civil and religious liberties of their country, by Charles's consenting to call a free parliament, and a general assembly. They had a view to have adopted into their government some of the fundamentals of the English constitution, for the security of their property ; though they perceived, from the spirit of the people, the necessity for abolishing episcopacy, however moderately exercised. The marquis of Hamilton advised the king to this measure ; but a compliance with it was totally repugnant to the prejudices of Charles. By the advice of that minister, however, he agreed, before he left Berwick, to summon fourteen of the chief covenanters to attend him, that he might know their real intentions.

When this summons was known at Edinburgh, the people were more exasperated than ever against the late pacification ; and when it was proclaimed by Lyon king at arms, many of the covenanting lords protested that they adhered to the assembly at Glasgow. The earl of Traquair was insulted in the streets of Edinburgh ; and the white rod, or staff, which was carried before him as lord-treasurer, was broken by the populace, who also committed numerous other outrages on the servants of the crown. Such was the general disposition of the people, that all the noblemen whom Charles had summoned, except Montrose, Loudon, and Lothian, were intimidated from attending him at Berwick ; those three obtaining leave from the populace with the greatest difficulty. Montrose, upon conversing with the king, conceived so good an opinion of him, that, from being a warm opponent, he became at once a true, though, yet a concealed friend to the royal cause ; and declared to the other two noblemen, who seemed to be of

^d Balfour.

his opinion, that he thought the king had made all the concessions which his people could require. The three lords ingenuously opened to Charles the grievances which they expected to be redressed in the next parliament.

The first of the grievances they complained of related to money, the value of which in Scotland was very precarious, and might be altered by royal proclamation. It was therefore desired that the value of the coin should not be regulated without the concurrence of parliament. The next grievance was the danger arising to the country from their forts being bridled by English garrisons; they insisted, therefore, that no strangers should be entrusted with keeping the castles, nor any be admitted into them but by advice of the states. The third grievance was of a nature similar to the preceding. They demanded that no person, except such as had a landed qualification in Scotland, should have any patent of honour. This demand aimed at a great restriction of the prerogative; but it arose from a jealousy that Charles might fill the parliament with men entirely devoted to himself and Laud, in whatever regarded the church or state. The next grievance was that of heritable jurisdictions, which placed such oppressive power in the hands of particular families. The lords therefore were of opinion, that no commission of justiciary, or lieutenancy, ought to be granted but for a limited time. The last article which they mentioned, related to the precedency of the lord-treasurer, lord privy-seal, and other officers of state in the Scottish parliament, which were not warranted by law, and tended to eclipse the lustre of the ancient nobility.

*Grievances
complained
of by the
Scots.*

The earl of Traquair was appointed commissioner to the parliament now to be assembled. Charles was at great pains to draw up his instructions, so as to render them consistent with the late pacification; but, at the same time, as loose and equivocal as possible. When Traquair arrived at Edinburgh, he observed that very little had been done with respect to the execution of the treaty. The castle of Edinburgh had been indeed restored to Ruthven; but the common people continued in so great a ferment, that no nobleman of known moderation, far less the friends of Charles, durst appear with safety in the streets of Edinburgh. According to Burnet, the fortifications of Leith were still continued; the army of the covenanters was re-assembled, or never had been disbanded; and many other violations of the pacification were notorious. Charles

A.D. 1540.

complained of these infractions; but was answered only with upbraidings for having, as they said, deceived their commissioners in the affair of the pacification.

A parliament.

Such was the situation of affairs when the parliament sat down; and a general assembly met at the same time. Charles intended to have been present in person at both meetings; but the common people had now erected themselves into a tribunal, which disclaimed all authority, even of those who were formerly their leaders. The parliament suffered Traquair to name the lords of the articles, that formerly had been named by the bishops; but in all other respects, they seemed to follow implicitly the dictates of the general assembly; and in both meetings, episcopacy was declared to be unlawful in the church of Scotland. While the parliament was proceeding in the redress of grievances, Charles sent his commissioner orders to prorogue them, and repair in person to London. Traquair, on receiving this order, sent it to the lords of articles. Their clerk refused to read it; but when it was carried to the parliament-house, it was read under a protest, and the meeting was for that time dissolved; but the earls of Dumfermling and Loudon were commissioned to repair to court, on the part of the parliament and general assembly. When these noblemen arrived in London, sir Thomas Roe, who had been the king's resident at the northern courts, informed him how busy the covenanters were in purchasing arms abroad; and advised him, by all means, to make sure of general Lesley's person; who was to go to Bremen, to hasten the preparations. Charles, upon this information, refusing to admit the two Scottish deputies to an audience, ordered a committee of his council to treat with them; but the deputies rejected this offer, because they had been instructed to treat with none but the king in person.

These altercations continuing, matters became every day more desperate, and no prospect remained but that of a renewal of mutual hostilities.

The covenanters assemble a parliament.

The royal authority was now treated by the covenanters with the utmost contempt. They not only imprisoned many of the most eminent of those who were reputed to be in the interest of the king, but a parliament, consisting of their most zealous abettors, assembled in June, in direct violation of his order. During the period of eight days, which was the whole time it sat, this parliament, however illegally convened, enacted a number of statutes,

tutes, which became the basis of civil and religious liberty in Scotland (B).

Both

(B) The 11th day of this month of June, the parliament met at Edinburgh, and did elect Robert lord Burle to be their president in this session of parliament, in respect of the absence of the king's commissioner. This session of parliament sat only eight days, and in it were thirty-nine statutes enacted, all of them printed, some whereof were of very great consequence; namely, the second act anent the constitution of that parliament, and the subsequent parliaments. By this act, bishops, abbots, yea all manner of clergymen whatsoever, (formerly called the third estate) were for ever excluded from being one of the three estates of parliament. And the three estates, by the same act, are declared to be noblemen, barons, or the commissioners for shires, and burghs, in all time coming. This act likewise annuls and rescinds all former acts whereby churchmen under whatsoever titles, were declared the third estate of the kingdom. But lest I should over-weary the reader, I have here set down an index of these acts which are of greatest concernment.

Third act, anent chusing committees out of every estate. This is the first positive law for committees.

Fourth act, ratifying the act of the general assembly holden at Edinburgh, in the month of August, 1639, made upon the 7th day of the said month, and in the eighth session of the as-

sembly, intituled anent the six causes of our by-past evils.

Fifth act, anent the ratification of the covenant, and of the assembly of Edinburgh holden in August, 1639, their supplication, act of council, and act of assembly, concerning the covenant.

Sixth act, rescissory, so called in respect it rescinds all former acts of parliament, which grants to the kirk or kirkmen of whatsoever sort, allowed or disallowed, as representing her, or in her name, the privilege of riding and voting in parliament, as prejudicial to her liberties, and incompatible with her spiritual nature; as also the said act declares, that the sole and only jurisdiction within this kirk, stands in the kirk of God, as it is now reformed, and in the general, provincial, and presbyterian assemblies, with sessions of the kirk, established by act of parliament in June, 1592. Cap. 14. &c.

Seventh act, was a discharge of the Christmas vacance, with an ordinance appointing the session to sit down the first day of November, and rise the last day of February, and thereafter to sit down the first day of June, and rise the first day of July, yearly.

Eighth act, against the king's majesty's large manifesto, condemning it as false in many things, full of untruths and lies, derogatory to his majesty's honour, and prejudicial to his loyal subjects, and in effect a firebrand to incense the prince's

The war is renewed.

Both parties now proceeded in their preparations for renewing the war; and the king took every method, as before

fury against his people, &c. In it is declared the proceedings of James, duke of Hamilton, his majesty's high-commissioner in the year 1638, until the month of August, 1639, penned by Dr. Walter Balcanquhal, dean of Durham, who did attend the duke as his chaplain, all the time he was in Scotland on shore. But indeed, he was Canterbury's spy, put as a watchman over the commissioner's actions, and deportment, by him and the court faction. The same Balcanquhal did communicate intelligence of all that passed in this kingdom with signior Georgio Con, the pope's legate, then resident, at the court of England also, as some of the intercepted letters can bear record.

Ninth act, called statutory, ordaining parliaments to be holden every three years.

Tenth act, anent the keepers of the castles of Edinburgh and Striveling, and Dumbarton, which ought not to be committed to any but to such persons as are known and approved by the whole course of their life, to be true and faithful subjects to his majesty; and trusty, well-affected countrymen, loving and tendering the peace, prosperity and good of the whole kingdom, and the preservation and advancement of the true religion reformed, now therefore, by God's providence established, and professed, and entertaining of unity betwixt the king and his subjects.

Eleventh act, anent the pro-

duction of the public registers and records of parliament, the first session of each parliament.

Thirteenth act, discharges the granting of protections, by the lords of his majesty's privy-council and exchequer. I have omitted the twelfth act, in respect it only does discharge any proxy to have vote in parliament for ever hereafter. As also, that no foreign nobleman have place and voice in parliament, unless they have ten thousand marks of land-rent within the kingdom.

Fourteenth act, anent the exchequer, declaring the same to be only judges, to matters concerning the managing of the king's rent and casualties. This act was made to curb Traquair, then lord-treasurer, who had assumed to himself a boundless liberty of meddling and disposing upon men's estates, where he and his followers and supposts could allege the king; to pretend the very least interest, to the great prejudice, and utter undoing of the subject.

Fifteenth act, appoints all grievances to be given in, in plain parliament, and no otherwise, in respect of the great hurt and damage the lieges received formerly, by giving in their grievances to the clerk-register.

Sixteenth act, suppressing the distinction of spiritual and temporal lords of the session, this act rescinded and annulled that article of the fifth parliament of king James the Fifth, anent

before, for raising money to support it. But all his resources proving insufficient, he resolved, after eleven years discontinuance of the English parliament, again to summon that assembly. This measure, however, producing no effect, he was obliged to have recourse to other expedients. With much difficulty, he was enabled to march his army, consisting of nine thousand foot and two thousand horse. The earl of Northumberland, who was general, pretended sickness; and the earl of Strafford was not yet recovered of a distemper, unaffected as well as dangerous. The command of the army, therefore, fell upon lord Conway, who found the inhabitants of the northern parts far from being well disposed towards the service. He was sent with orders to fortify Newcastle; but this, especially as the inhabitants refused to assist him, he found impracticable. The militia of Northumberland,

anent the institution of the college of justice for ever hereafter, excluded all churchmen from being lords of the session.

Seventeenth act, against leasing-making of whatsoever quality, office, place, or dignity. This act was purposely made to catch Traquair, the treasurer, sir John Hay, clerk-register, sir Robert Spotswood, president of the session, Maxwell, bishop of Ross, and others, who, by ranting and lying, had done much mischief to this kingdom; and, in effect, had given many bad informations to his majesty, and council of England, contrary to the truth, and what was really done, and acted by the covenanters.

Eighteenth act, annulling all unlawful proclamations made under the pain of treason, commanding things unjust and unlawful, tending to the overthrow and prejudice of the laws and liberties of kirk and kingdom.

Nineteenth act, explaining the preceding acts of parliament made against bonds and

conventions among subjects; as also the declaring the bonds and conventions made and kept, since the beginning of the present troubles, to be legal and lawful.

The thirty-eighth and nineteenth acts of this index, is ordaining the whole subjects and lieges of this kingdom to obey, maintain, and defend the conclusions, acts, and constitutions of this present session of parliament, and to subscribe the bond appointed for that effect.

This session of parliament sat eight days; and among many other statutes enacted their nineteen, or rather twenty, above-written, which are these, most memorable, to be recommended to posterity, as exhibiting the real, greatest change, at one blow, that ever happened to this church and state these six hundred years by past; for, in effect, it overturned not only the ancient state-government, but fettered monarchy with chains, and set new limits and marches to fame, beyond which it was not legally to proceed.

were

*The Scots
invade
England.*

were destitute of arms; nor had he credit sufficient to procure any supply.

In the mean time, the covenanters were not less active in their military levies. The chief command of their army was again given to Lesley; but Montrose, who had been gained by Charles, was reputed the best officer in the field. Having determined on the invasion of England, the army immediately marched thither, accompanied by committees from the states, in the nature of field-deputies, without whose consent nothing of importance was to be undertaken. The invasion was conducted with great circumspection. The Scottish pedlars, all of them zealous for the cause, gave their countrymen the most minute intelligence of the enemy's motions, while the latter was entirely ignorant of their's. Lord Conway resolved, after much deliberation, to make a stand at Newbourn upon Tyne, where, in all probability, the Scots would attempt their passage. On the 27th of August, Lesley demanded liberty to pass the river with his army, that his countrymen might present their petition to the king; but to this request Conway paid no regard, as Charles had proclaimed the Scots traitors upon their entering England. As soon as the Scots reached the southern banks of the river, the English cavalry retreated to a hill on the right, instead of covering their infantry on the left. Wilmot, who was an excellent officer, opposed them with six troops, which were drawn up in the front; but Ballenden, a brave Scottish officer, wheeled to attack the reserved body of the English, who being put into disorder by the Scottish artillery, the cavalry under lord Conway refused to fight, and Wilmot was made prisoner.

*The royal-
ists are
routed at
Newbourn.*

It is generally admitted, that the conduct of the English generals, in this action, was extremely reprehensible. Instead of opposing the Scots with vigour at the passage of the river, Conway ordered his horse to march to Durham, and his foot to Newcastle, though he knew before that it was untenable, and had resolved not to defend it. The event was, that the Scots, after passing the river, entered Newcastle without opposition, and took possession of all the royal magazines, which were very considerable. An imposition of eight hundred and fifty pounds a day was laid upon the town and the neighbouring counties; and the earl of Lothian was appointed governor of Newcastle, with a garrison of two thousand two hundred men.

From

From Newcastle, the Scots sent messengers to the king, who was by this time arrived at York. In these they redoubled their expressions of loyalty, duty, and submission to his person, and carried their dissimulation so far, as even to make apologies, full of sorrow and contrition, for their late victory.

With the discontents of his English subjects; Charles was now in a very distressed situation; and, to prevent the advance of the Scots upon him, he agreed to a treaty, and named sixteen English noblemen, who met with eleven Scottish commissioners at Rippon. But as *Treaty at Rippon.* many difficulties occurred in the negociation, it was proposed to transfer the treaty from Rippon to London; a proposal extremely agreeable to the Scots, who were now sure of treating with advantage, in a place where the king, they foresaw, would be, in a manner, prisoner in the midst of his implacable enemies, and their determined friends.

No sooner were the Scots masters of the northern counties than they laid aside their first professions, which they had not indeed means to support, of paying for every thing; and, in order to prevent the destructive expedient of plunder and free quarters, the country consented to give them a regular contribution of eight hundred and fifty pounds a-day, in full of their subsistence. The English parliament, that they might relieve the northern counties from so grievous a burden, agreed to remit pay to the Scottish, as well as to the English army; and because subsidies would be levied too slowly for so urgent an occasion, money was borrowed from the citizens upon the security of particular members. The invasion of the Scots had evidently been the cause of assembling the parliament: the presence of their army reduced the king to that total subjection in which he was now held; and the commons, for this reason, openly professed their intention of retaining those invaders, until all their own enemies should be suppressed, and all their purposes effected.

The Scots being such useful allies to the malcontent party in England, no wonder they were courted with the most flattering complaisance, and the most important services. The king having, in his first speech, called them rebels, observed that he had given great offence to the parliament; and he was immediately obliged to soften, and even to retract, the expression. The Scottish commissioners

sioners found every advantage in conducting their treaty; yet made no haste in bringing it to an issue. They were lodged in the city, and kept an intimate correspondence, as well with the magistrates, who were extremely disaffected, as with the popular leaders in both houses; to whom their countenance was not unserviceable in the prosecution of the earl of Strafford.

A D. 1641.

The parliament now came to a pause. The king had promised his Scottish subjects, that he would this summer pay them a visit, in order to settle their government; and though the English parliament was very importunate with him, that he should lay aside that journey, they could not prevail with him so much as to delay it. As he must necessarily, in his journey, have passed the troops of both nations, the commons seem to have entertained great jealousy on that account, and to have now hurried on, as much as they formerly delayed, the disbanding the armies. The arrears, therefore, of the Scots were fully paid them; and those of the English in part. The former returned home, and the latter were separated into their several counties, and dismissed.

*The king's
journey to
Scotland.*

A small committee of both houses of parliament was appointed to attend the king into Scotland, in order, as was pretended, to see that the articles of pacification were executed; but really to be spies upon him, and extend still farther the ideas of parliamentary authority. Endeavours were used, before Charles's departure, to have a protector of the kingdom appointed, with a power to pass laws without having recourse to the king.

The Scots, who began these fatal commotions, thought that they had finished a very perilous undertaking much to their profit and reputation. Beside the large pay voted them for lying in good quarters during a twelvemonth, the English parliament had conferred on them a present of three hundred thousand pounds for their brotherly assistance. In the articles of pacification, they were declared to have ever been good subjects; and their military expeditions were approved of, as enterprizes calculated for his majesty's honour and advantage. To carry farther the triumph over their sovereign, these terms, so ignominious to him, were ordered, by a vote of parliament, to be read in all churches, upon a day of thanksgiving, appointed for the national pacification. All their claims for the restriction of prerogative, were agreed to be ratified; and what they more valued than all these advantages, they had a

near

near prospect of spreading the presbyterian discipline in England and Ireland, from the seeds which they had scattered of their religious principles.

Charles, despoiled in England of a considerable part of his authority, and dreading still farther encroachments upon him, arrived in Scotland, with an intention of abdicating almost entirely the small share of power which remained to him, and of giving full satisfaction, if possible, to his restless subjects in that kingdom.

Aug. 14.
*Settlement
of Scotland.*

The lords of articles were an ancient institution in the Scottish parliament. They were constituted after this manner: the temporal lords chose eight bishops: the bishops elected eight temporal lords: these sixteen named eight commissioners of counties, and eight burgessees: and without the previous consent of the thirty-two, who were denominated lords of articles, no motion could be made in parliament. As the bishops were entirely devoted to the court, it is evident, that all the lords of articles depended on the king's nomination. The bench of bishops being now abolished, the parliament laid hold of the opportunity, and totally laid aside the lords of articles.

It is remarkable that, notwithstanding this institution, to which there was no parallel in England, the royal authority was always deemed much lower in Scotland than in the former kingdom: for, among the Scots, it was of little consequence how the laws were framed, or by whom voted, while the exorbitant aristocracy had it so much in its power to prevent their regular execution.

The peers and commons formed only one house in the Scottish parliament: and as it had been the practice of James, continued by Charles, to grace English gentlemen with Scottish titles, all the determinations of parliament, it was to be feared, would in time depend upon the prince, by means of these votes of foreigners, who had no interest or property in the nation. A law was therefore made, that no man should be created a Scottish peer who possessed not ten thousand marks (above five hundred pounds) of annual rent in the kingdom. A law for triennial parliaments was likewise passed; and it was ordained, that the last act of every parliament should be to appoint the time and place for holding the parliament next ensuing. The king was deprived of that power, formerly exercised, of issuing proclamations, which enjoined obedience, under the penalty of treason; a prerogative which invested him with the whole legislative

lative authority, even in matters of the highest importance.

So far the regulations were salutary. But the most fatal blow given to royal authority, and what in a manner dethroned the prince, was the article, that no member of the privy-council, in whose hands, during the king's absence, the whole administration lay, no officer of state, and none of the judges, should be appointed but by the advice and approbation of parliament. Charles even agreed to deprive of their seats four judges who had adhered to his interests; and their place was supplied by others more agreeable to the ruling party: and all the ministers of state, counsellors, and judges, were, by law, to hold their places during life, or good behaviour. The king, while in Scotland, conformed himself entirely to the established church; and assisted, with great gravity, at the long prayers and sermons with which the Presbyterians endeavoured to regale him. He bestowed pensions and preferments on Henderson, Gillespy, and other popular preachers; and practised every art to soften, if not to gain, his greatest enemies. The earl of Argyle was created a marquis; lord Loudon, an earl. Lesley was dignified with the title of earl of Leven. His friends he was obliged, for the present, to neglect and overlook; by which some of them were disgusted. Nor were his enemies reconciled; but ascribed all his caresses and favours to artifice and necessity.

The king, having thus endeavoured to appease the commotions in Scotland, was preparing to return to England, in order to apply himself to the same salutary work in that kingdom; but, before his departure, he received intelligence of a dangerous rebellion broken out in Ireland; which had doubtless been much encouraged by the success of the Scottish covenanters.

A.D. 1643.

By the concessions which the king had granted to Scotland, it became necessary for him to summon a parliament once in three years; and in June, of the subsequent year, was fixed the period for the meeting of that assembly. Before that time elapsed, Charles, who was now involved in war with his English subjects, flattered himself, that he should be able, by some decisive advantage, to reduce the parliament of that country to a reasonable submission, and might then expect with security the meeting of a Scottish parliament. Though earnestly solicited by Loudon, to summon presently that great council of the nation,

tion, he absolutely refused to give authority to men, who had already excited such dangerous commotions, and who shewed still the same disposition to invade his authority. The commissioners, therefore, not being able to prevail in any of their demands, desired the king's passport for London, where they purposed to confer with the English parliament; and, being likewise denied this request, they returned with extreme dissatisfaction to Edinburgh ^h.

The office of conservators of the peace was newly erected in Scotland, in order to maintain the confederacy between the two kingdoms; and these, instigated by the clergy, were resolved, since they could not obtain the king's consent, to summon, in his name, but by their own authority, a convention of states; and to wrest from their sovereign this article, the only one which remained, of his prerogative. Under colour of providing for national peace, endangered by the neighbourhood of English armies, they therefore called a convention; an assembly, which, though it met with less solemnity, had the same authority as a parliament, in raising money, and levying forces. Hamilton, and his brother, the earl of Lanerk, who had been sent into Scotland to oppose these measures, wanted either authority or sincerity; and yielded to the torrent. The general assembly of the church met at the same time with the convention; and, exercising an authority almost absolute, made every political consideration give way to their theological zeal and prejudices. The English parliament was, at that time, fallen into great distress by the progress of the royal arms; and it sent to Edinburgh commissioners, with ample powers, to treat of a closer confederacy with the people of Scotland. In this negotiation, the person chiefly trusted was, sir Henry Vane the younger, who, in eloquence, address, capacity, as well as in art and dissimulation, was not surpassed by any one, even during that age, so conspicuous for active talents. By his persuasion, was framed, at Edinburgh, that Solemn League and Covenant, which obliterated all former protestations and vows taken in both kingdoms; and long maintained its authority. In this covenant, the subscribers, beside engaging mutually to defend each other against all opponents, bound themselves to endeavour, without respect of persons, the extirpation of popery and prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness; to maintain the rights and pri-

*Solemn
League and
Covenant.*

^h Balfour.

vileges of parliament, with the king's authority; and to discover and bring to justice all incendiaries and malignants.

The subscribers of the covenant vowed also to preserve the reformed religion established in the church of Scotland; but, by the artifice of Vane, no declaration more explicit was made with regard to England and Ireland, than that these kingdoms should be reformed, according to the word of God, and the example of the purest churches. The Scottish zealots, when prelacy was abjured, deemed this expression quite free from ambiguity; and regarded their own model as the only one which corresponded, in any degree, to such a description. But that able politician had other views; and while he employed his talents in over-reaching the presbyterians, and secretly laughed at their simplicity, he had blindly devoted himself to the maintenance of systems still more absurd and more dangerous. In the English parliament there remained some members, who, though they had been induced, either by private ambition, or by zeal for public freedom to concur with the majority, still retained an attachment to the hierarchy, and to the ancient modes of worship. But, in the present danger, all scruples were laid aside; and the covenant, by means of which alone they could expect to obtain so considerable a reinforcement as the accession of the Scottish nation, was received without opposition. The parliament, therefore, having first subscribed it themselves, ordered it to be received by all those who lived under their authority.

Sept. 17.

*Arming of
the Scots.*

Great joy was now testified by the Scots, that they should be the happy instruments of extending their mode of religion, and dissipating that profound darkness in which the neighbouring nations were involved. The convention, in the height of their zeal, ordered every one to swear to this covenant, under the penalty of confiscation; beside what farther punishment it should please the ensuing parliament to inflict on the refusers. And being determined, that the sword should carry conviction to all refractory minds, they prepared themselves, with great activity, for their military enterprizes. By means of a hundred thousand pounds which they received from England, by the hopes of good pay and warm quarters, not to mention men's favourable disposition towards the cause, they soon completed their levies. And having added to their other forces the troops which they had recalled from Ireland, they were ready, about the end of the year, to
enter

enter England, under the command of their old general, the earl of Leven, with an army of above twenty thousand men.

The king had hitherto, during the course of the war, obtained many advantages over the English parliament, and, from that low condition into which he had at first fallen, had raised himself to be nearly upon a footing with his adversaries; but the invasion from Scotland threw him into fresh embarrassment. The Scots, having summoned in vain the town of Newcastle, which was fortified by the vigilance of sir Thomas Glenham, passed the Tyne, and faced the marquis of Newcastle, who lay at Durham, with an army of fourteen thousand men. After some military operations, in which that nobleman had reduced the enemy to difficulties for forage and provisions, he received intelligence of a great disaster which had befallen his forces in Yorkshire; where colonel Bellasis, whom he had left with a considerable body of troops, was totally routed at Selby, by sir Thomas Fairfax. Afraid of being inclosed between two armies, Newcastle retreated; and Leven having joined lord Fairfax, they sat down before York, to which the army of the loyalists had retired. But as the parliamentary and the Scottish forces were not numerous enough to invest so large a town, divided by a river, they contented themselves with incommoding it by a loose blockade; and affairs remained, for some time, in suspense between these opposite armies. At last, Glenham was obliged to surrender York; and he marched out his garrison with all the honours of war. The Scottish army marched northwards, in order to join the earl of Calendar, who was advancing with ten thousand additional forces; and to reduce the town of Newcastle, which they took by storm.

While the king's affairs declined in England, some events happened in Scotland, which seemed to promise him a more prosperous issue of the contest. Montrose, as above observed, being commissioned by the tables to wait upon the king, while the royal army lay at Berwick, was so gained by the civilities and caresses of that monarch, that he thenceforth devoted himself entirely, though secretly, to his service, and entered into a close correspondence with him. In the second insurrection, a great military command was entrusted to him by

A.D. 1644.

Invasion from Scotland.

Feb. 22.

April 21.

July 16.

the covenanters; and he was the first that passed the Tweed, at the head of their troops, in the invasion of England. He found means, however, soon after, to convey a letter to the king: and by the infidelity of some about that prince, Hamilton, as was suspected, a copy of this letter was sent to Leven, the Scottish general. Being accused of treachery, and a correspondence with the enemy, Montrose openly avowed the letter; and asked the generals, if they dared to call their sovereign an enemy: and by this bold and magnanimous behaviour, he escaped the danger of an immediate prosecution. As he was now fully known to be of the royal party, he no longer concealed his principles; and he endeavoured to draw those who entertained like sentiments into a bond of association for his master's service ^k.

There was in Scotland another party, which, professing equal attachment to the king's service, pretended only to differ from Montrose about the means of attaining the same end; and of that party duke Hamilton was the leader. As much as the bold and vivid spirit of Montrose prompted him to enterprising measures, so much was the cautious temper of Hamilton inclined to such as were moderate and dilatory. At last, the latter, incurring the suspicion of treachery, was sent prisoner by the king to Pendennis-castle, in Cornwall; and the king's ears were now open to Montrose's councils.

This active nobleman, not discouraged by the defeat of the royalists at Marston-moor, which rendered it impossible for him to draw any succour from England, was content to stipulate with the earl of Antrim, a nobleman of Ireland, for some supply of men from that country. And he himself, changing his dignities, and passing through many dangers, arrived in Scotland; where he lay concealed in the borders of the Highlands, and secretly prepared the minds of his partizans for attempting some great enterprize.

No sooner were the Irish landed, though not exceeding eleven hundred foot, very ill armed, than Montrose declared himself, and entered upon that scene of action, which has rendered his name so celebrated. About eight hundred of the men of Athol flocked to his standard. Five hundred men more, who had been levied by the covenanters, were persuaded to embrace the royal cause:

^k Burnet.

and with this combined force, he hastened to attack lord Elcho, who lay at Perth with an army of six thousand men, assembled upon the first news of the Irish invasion. Though the greater part of Montrose's men were armed with nothing but stones, yet by the rapidity of his enterprise, and his own gallant example, he obtained a complete victory, with the slaughter of two thousand of the covenanters. But the news of Argyle's approach, with an army much superior, obliged Montrose to march towards Angus, where the royal interest was strong, and where he was joined by a considerable body of the Ogilvies. He attacked, at Aberdeen, the lord Burley, who commanded a force of two thousand five hundred men. After a sharp engagement, by his undaunted courage and military skill, he put the enemy to flight, and did great execution upon them.

Progress and victories of Montrose, who gains the battle of Tippermoor, and of Aberdeen.

But Montrose's amazing success in those two battles was of greater service to his reputation than to his cause. Huntley, jealous of Montrose's glory, was averse to join an army, where himself must be so much eclipsed by the superior merit of the general. Argyle, reinforced by the earl of Lothian, was behind him with a great army: the militia of the northern counties, to the number of five thousand men, opposed him in front, and guarded the banks of the Spey, a deep and rapid river. In order to elude these numerous armies, he turned aside into the hills, and saved his few, but active adherents, in Badenoch. Argyle, who still hung upon his rear, came up with him at Fyvie; but after some skirmishes, in which that nobleman was worsted, Montrose, by quick marches, through those inaccessible mountains, freed himself from the superior forces of the covenanters.

He worsts the covenanters at Fyvie.

Montrose, afterwards, with his small body of troops, fell suddenly upon Argyle's country, with all the rage of war and depredation; carrying off the cattle, burning the houses, and putting the inhabitants to the sword. This severity, by which Montrose sullied his victories, was the result of private animosity against the chieftain, as much as of zeal for the public cause. Argyle, collecting three thousand men, marched in quest of the enemy, who had retired with their plunder; and he lay at Innerlochy, supposing them still at a considerable distance. The earl of Seaforth, at the head of the garrison of Inverness, who were veteran soldiers, pressed the royalists on, the other side, and threatened

A.D. 1645. them with inevitable destruction. By a quick and unexpected march, he hastened to Inverlochy, and presented himself in order of battle before the surprised covenanters. 2 Feb. Argyle, seized with a panic, deserted his army, which, *He gains the battle of Inverlochy.* however, maintained its ground, and gave battle to the royalists. After a vigorous resistance, they were defeated, and pursued with great slaughter. The Highlanders now began to join Montrose's camp, in great numbers. Seaforth's army dispersed of itself, at the very terror of his name. And lord Gordon, eldest son of Huntley, having escaped from his uncle Argyle, who had hitherto detained him, now joined Montrose, with no contemptible number of his followers, attended by his brother, the earl of Aboyne.

The council at Edinburgh, alarmed at Montrose's progress, sent for Baillie, an officer of reputation from England; and joining him in command with Urrey, who had again enlisted himself among the king's enemies, they sent him to the field, with a considerable army, against the royalists. Montrose, with a detachment of eight hundred men, had attacked Dundee, a town extremely zealous for the covenant; and having carried it by assault, had delivered it up to be plundered by his soldiers; when Baillie and Urrey, with their whole force, came unexpectedly upon him. His conduct and presence of mind, in this emergency, appeared conspicuous. He instantly called off his soldiers from plunder, put them in order, covered his retreat by the most skilful measures; and having marched sixty miles in the face of an enemy much superior, without stopping, he at last secured himself in the mountains^m.

The battle of Alderney. Baillie and Urrey now divided their troops. The latter, at the head of four thousand men, met Montrose at Alderney, near Inverness; and, encouraged by the superiority of number, which was double that of the royalists, attacked him in the post which he had chosen. Montrose, having placed his right wing on strong ground, drew the best of his forces to the other, and left no main body between them; a defect which he artfully concealed, by shewing a few men through the trees and bushes, with which that ground was covered. That Urrey might have no leisure to perceive the stratagem, he instantly led his left wing to the charge; and making a furious impression

upon the covenanters, drove them off the field, and gained a complete victory.

Baillie now advanced, in order to revenge Urry's defeat; but at Alford, he met himself with a like fate. *and that of Alford,* Montrose, weak in cavalry, here lined his troops of horse with infantry, and after putting the enemies horse to rout, fell with united force upon their foot, who were entirely cut in pieces, though with the loss of the gallant lord Gordon on the part of the royalists. Having thus prevailed in so many battles, which his vigour ever rendered as decisive as they were successful, he summoned together all his friends and partizans, and prepared himself for marching into the southern provinces, in order to put a final period to the power of the covenanters, and dissipate the parliament, which, with great pomp and solemnity, they had summoned to meet at St. Johnstone's.

The covenanters, assembling their whole force, met him with a numerous army, and gave him battle, but without success at Kilsyth. This was the most complete victory that Montrose ever obtained. *with the almost decisive battle of Kilsyth.* The royalists put to the sword six thousand of their enemies, and left the covenanters no remains of any army in Scotland. The whole kingdom was shaken with these repeated successes of Montrose; and many noblemen, who had secretly favoured the royal cause, now declared openly for it, when they saw a force able to support them. Edinburgh opened its gates, and set at liberty all the prisoners that were detained by the covenanters.

David Lesley was now detached from the army in England, and marched to the relief of his distressed party in Scotland. *A.D. 1646.* Montrose advanced still farther to the South, allured by vain hopes, both of rousing to arms some of the nobles on the borders, who had promised to join him; and of obtaining from England some supply of cavalry, in which he was deficient. By the negligence of his scouts, Lesley, at Philip-haugh in the Forreth, surprised his army, much diminished in numbers, from the desertion of the Highlanders, who had retired to the hills, according to custom, in order to secure their plunder. After a sharp conflict, where Montrose exerted great valour, his forces were routed by Lesley's cavalry; and himself was obliged to fly with his broken forces into the mountains; where he again prepared himself for new enterprises. The covenanters, meanwhile, used their victory with rigour;

Defeat of Montrose.

The king goes to the Scottish camp at Newark, and is delivered up to the English parliament.

and the clergy solicited the parliament that more royalists might be executed.

In England, repeated disasters now every where beset the royal party; and the king, at last, formed the fatal resolution of flying to the Scottish army, which at that time lay before Newark. The events which ensued in that kingdom fall not within the present history. It is sufficient to say, that, by a treaty concluded between the commissioners from Scotland and the English parliament at Westminster, the Scots agreed to the ignominious transaction of resigning the person of the king, for the sum of four hundred thousand poundsⁿ.

A D 1648.

Proceedings of the Scottish covenanters and royalists.

The Scottish army having now returned from England, the covenanters reduced it to six thousand foot and twelve hundred horse. Twenty thousand pounds sterling was voted out of the English money, to be given to Argyle; thirty thousand to the duke of Hamilton, for his losses and sufferings; and others were rewarded in proportion. A committee of twenty of each estate was then appointed to govern the kingdom, until the next session of parliament. The first business which this committee undertook, was to suppress the marquis of Huntley and the royalists in the North. That loyal nobleman had always considered the king's command for disbanding his forces, as having been extorted; and, for that reason, he never had entirely complied with the order. The royalists, therefore, were, at this time, too powerful for Middleton, who had previously been sent thither; and Lesley was dispatched northwards with a strong reinforcement of horse and foot to assist him; which obliged Huntley once more to retire to the Highlands. The two generals made themselves masters of all the castles and houses belonging to the Gordons and their friends; setting at liberty the Scots who garrisoned them, but immediately hanging up all the Irish. The chief of the Scottish gentlemen were sent prisoners to Edinburgh, where some of them were barbarously executed. From Strathbogie, Lesley, attended by the marquis of Argyle, marched against the Irish, and the Macdonalds, in the Western Isles. Sir Alexander Macdonald, who was at the head of fourteen hundred foot and two troops of horse, gave them a rough reception at Kintyre, and retreated by boats, first to the isles, and then to Ireland. The country people who had

joined them, laid down their arms upon promise of quarter; but a sanguinary preacher, one Nevoy, persuaded Lesley to violate his engagement; and they were all of them massacred by the soldiers, stripped, and left unburied. Argyle and Lesley next reduced the castle of Dunivey, and returned to Edinburgh, where the committee of the estates was chiefly employed in executing the clergy's bloody decrees against the malignants, as they called the royalists.

A reward of a thousand pounds was offered for taking Huntley, who was surpris'd and made prisoner, at the house of one of his own tenants. The news of his misfortune gave Charles great concern, and he wrote to Lanerk, in a strain uncommonly pathetic, desiring him to employ all his interest for saving that nobleman. But all interposition was in vain: Huntley was brought to Edinburgh; and it was with the utmost difficulty that his execution was delayed until the meeting of parliament.

The marquis of Huntley made prisoner.

Before the surrender of the king's person at Newcastle, and much more since that event, subjects of dissatisfaction had been daily multiplying between the two kingdoms. The independents, who began to prevail in England, took all occasions of mortifying the Scots, whom the presbyterians looked on with the greatest affection and veneration. When the Scottish commissioners, who with a committee of the English lords and commons, had managed the war, were ready to depart, it was propos'd in parliament to give them thanks for their civilities and good offices; but the independents insisted, that the words, good offices, should be struck out. The covenant was profanely called, in the house of commons, an almanack out of date; and this, though complain'd of as impiety, had pass'd uncensured. Instead of being able to establish orthodoxy by the sword and by penal statutes, the presbyterians beheld, with the utmost abhorrence, the sectarian army, who were absolute masters, claim an unbounded liberty of conscience. All the violences put on the king, they loudly blamed, as repugnant to the covenant, by which they stood engaged to defend his royal person. And those very actions, of which themselves had been guilty, they now denominat'd treason and rebellion, when executed by an opposite party.

Second civil war.

The English parliament, at the instigation of the independents and army, had reject'd the offers made by the king

king towards an accommodation, and framed four proposals, which they sent him as preliminaries, to which they demanded his positive assent. By one, he was required to invest the parliament with the military power for twenty years; beside an authority for levying whatever money should be necessary for exercising it: and even after the twenty years should be elapsed, they reserved a right of resuming the same authority, whenever they should declare the safety of the kingdom to require it. By the second, he was to recal all his proclamations and declarations against the parliament, and acknowledge that assembly to have taken arms in their just and necessary defence. By the third, he was to annul all the acts, and render void all the patents of peerage, which had passed the great seal, since it had been carried from London by lord-keeper Littleton; and at the same time renounce for the future the power of making peers without consent of parliament. By the fourth, he gave the two houses power to adjourn as they thought proper: a demand seemingly of no great importance; but contrived by the independents, that they might be able to remove the parliament to places, where it should remain in perpetual subjection to the army.

The earls of Loudon, Lauderdale, and Lanerk, who were sent to London, protested against the four bills, as containing too great a diminution of the king's civil power, and providing no security for religion. They complained, that, notwithstanding this protestation, the bills were still insisted on, contrary to the solemn league, and to the treaty between the two nations. And when they accompanied the English commissioners to the Isle of Wight, they secretly formed a treaty with the king, for arming Scotland in his favour.

*Invasion
from Scot-
land.*

Three parties, at that time, prevailed in Scotland: the royalists, who insisted upon the restoration of the king's authority, without any regard to religious sects or tenets: of those Montrose, though absent, was regarded as the head. The rigid presbyterians, who hated the king, even more than they abhorred toleration; and who determined to give him no assistance, until he should subscribe the covenant: these were governed by Argyle. The moderate presbyterians, who endeavoured to reconcile the interests of religion and of the crown, and hoped, by supporting the presbyterian party in England, to suppress the sectarian army, and to reinstate the parliament, as well

as

as the king, in their just freedom and authority. The two brothers, Hamilton and Lanerk, were leaders of this party^b.

When Pendennis-castle was surrendered to the parliamentary army, Hamilton, who then obtained his liberty, returned into Scotland; and being generously determined to remember ancient favours, more than recent injuries, he immediately embarked with zeal in the protection of the royal cause. He obtained a vote from the Scottish parliament to arm forty thousand men in support of the king's authority, and to call over a considerable body under Monro, who commanded the Scottish forces in Ulster. At the same time, he secretly entered into a correspondence with sir Marmaduke Langdale, and sir Philip Musgrave, who had levied considerable forces in the north of England.

The general assembly, which sat at the same time, and was guided by Argyle, dreaded the consequence of these measures, and foresaw that the opposite party, if successful, would effect the restoration of monarchy, without the establishment of presbytery in England. To join the king before he had subscribed the covenant, was considered by those zealots as the height of impiety; and they thundered out anathemas against every one who paid obedience to the parliament. Thus two supreme judicatures were erected in the kingdom; one threatening the people with eternal damnation, the other with imprisonment, banishment, and military execution. The people were distracted in their choice; and the armament of Hamilton's party, though seconded by all the civil power, went on but slowly.

Meanwhile, the English royalists exclaimed loudly against Hamilton's delays, which they attributed to a refined policy in the Scots; as if their intentions were, that all the king's party should be first suppressed, and the victory remain solely to the presbyterians. Hamilton, with better reason, complained of the precipitancy of the English royalists, who, by their ill-timed insurrections, forced him to march his army before his levies were completed, or his preparations in any forwardness.

Hamilton, at last, having entered England with a numerous, though undisciplined, army, durst not unite his forces with those of Langdale, because the English royalists

*Civil war
and invasion
re
pressed.*

* Ba'four.

had

had refused to take the covenant, and the Scottish presbyterians, though engaged for the king, would not join them on any other terms. The two armies marched together, though at some distance, nor could even the approach of the parliamentary army, under Cromwell, oblige the covenanters to consult their own safety by a close union with the royalists.

*Hamilton
made pri-
soner.*

Cromwell feared not to oppose eight thousand men to the numerous armies of twenty thousand, commanded by Hamilton and Langdale. He attacked the latter by surprise, near Preston in Lancashire; and though the royalists made a brave resistance, yet, not being succoured in time by their confederates, they were almost entirely cut in pieces. Hamilton was next attacked, put to rout, and pursued to Utoxeter, where he surrendered himself prisoner. Cromwell followed his advantage, and, marching into Scotland with a considerable body, joined Argyle, who was also in arms; and having suppressed Lanerk, Monro, and other moderate presbyterians, he placed the power entirely in the hands of the violent party. The ecclesiastical authority exalted above the civil, exercised the severest vengeance on all who had sided with Hamilton; and solemn and public penance was the slightest atonement required of that unfortunate party. The chancellor, Loudon, who had at first countenanced Hamilton's enterprize, being terrified with the menaces of the clergy, had some time before gone over to the opposite faction; and he now, though invested with the highest civil character, did penance in the church, before the whole congregation, for his obedience to the parliament, which, in the cant of the times, he termed a carnal self-seeking. He accompanied his penance with so many tears, and such pathetic addresses to the people for their prayers in this his uttermost sorrow and distress, that the deluded people melted into a universal lamentation.

The loan of great sums of money, often to the ruin of families, was exacted from all such as lay under any suspicion of favouring the royal cause, though their conduct had been ever so inoffensive. This device was fallen upon by the ruling party, in order, as they said, to reach heart-malignants.

A.D. 1649.

*Execution
of Charles,*

At this period happened the singular tragedy of king Charles, which has been related in the History of England, and which has fixed an indelible stain on the fanaticism and violence of both kingdoms.

The

The trial and execution of duke Hamilton, as earl of Cambridge in England, followed that of his royal master. Great interest was made to prevail with the marquis of Argyle to interpose, by threatening to make his death a national quarrel. But that nobleman declined the office, because he knew how much the rigid covenanters were exasperated at the duke's conduct, whose behaviour, however, at his death, clears him from all imputation of treachery to the king. His brother, the earl of Lanerk, was then in Holland, bewailing the false step he had made in laying down his arms at Stirling.

*and of
duke Ha-
milton.*

After the successive defeats of Montrose and Hamilton, and the ruin of their parties, the whole authority in Scotland fell into the hands of Argyle and the rigid churchmen, that party which was most averse to the interests of the royal family. Their enmity against the independents, who had prevented the settlement of presbyterian discipline in England, carried them to embrace opposite maxims in their political conduct. Though invited by the English parliament to model their government into a republican form, they resolved to adhere to monarchy, which had ever prevailed in their country, and which, by the express terms of their covenant, they had engaged to defend. The execution, therefore, of the king, against which they had always protested, having occasioned a vacancy of the throne, they immediately proclaimed his son and successor, Charles the Second; but upon condition of his good behaviour, and strict observance of the covenant, and his entertaining no other persons about him but such as were godly men, and faithful to that obligation. Some besides insisted, that Charles should submit to the church-censures, renounce the sins of his father's house, and the iniquities of his mother, and subject himself to other mortifications, greater, if possible, than those inflicted by the haughtiest Roman pontiffs upon temporal princes. Those, however, were the sentiments of enthusiasts only; and Argyle, with some other lay covenanters, adopted them, in the hope that they would be rejected, fearing that they themselves had offended the royalists beyond all possibility of reconciliation. They had even interest enough to bring the marquis of Huntley, who still remained a prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh, to the block, where he died with the greatest magnanimity and resignation.

*State of
Scotland.*

The barbarous murder of this nobleman, who had never acknowledged any other sovereign in Scotland but his master,

*Condition of
Charles at
the Hague.*

fter, opened the eyes of the covenanting royalists, for of such were many in the nation. They beheld their enthusiastic brethren either with abhorrence or contempt; and they fell in with all the sentiments of the episcopal royalists. Charles was then at the Hague, in a very deplorable situation. The prince and princess of Orange wished him well; but though the States-general and the states of Holland behaved to him with decency, they gave him shrewd intimations that they were in no condition to break with the ruling power in England, should they be required to withdraw their protection from him and his court. Charles was no stranger to the general sentiments of the Scots in his favour; and Argyle had been forced to emit a proclamation, under the authority of the estates, declaring Charles to be the rightful heir of his father, and lawful king of Scotland. -

The moderation and wisdom which Charles discovered at this time, far exceeded those of his riper years. He had at his little court two Scotsmen of great weight and authority. The former was duke Hamilton, late earl of Lanerk, a wise, active, worthy nobleman; but he had been driven into some undutiful measures, during the last reign, by the hardships and disgraces which he and his brother had suffered from the ingratitude of the court. He was now a thorough convert to the royal cause, and offered the king his services in the most cordial manner. The other nobleman was the marquis of Montrose. After this heroic general had been obliged to lay down his arms, he visited the principal courts of Europe, where the fame of his gallant actions rendered him the object of public admiration; but though he was invited to accept of the most important commands, he reserved himself for the service of Charles. He appeared at the Hague with a grandeur and equipage more suited to his master's and his own dignity than their fortunes. His past distresses, and the earnest desire he had to be revenged of the Scottish regicides, for such he deemed the Scotch covenanters of that country, increased that air of heroism, for which he was so much distinguished among foreigners; and his language was as unreserved as his manners were open.

Those great subjects, though both of them warm and well affected to the royal cause, differed widely in their sentiments respecting the means of serving it. Duke Hamilton declared against exasperating Argyle, and the estates, who were the ruling powers in Scotland; and gave

gave many weighty reasons why the king should, at least, appear to agree to their requisitions; which were as follows: 1. That he take the covenant. 2. That he put from him all those who assisted his father in the late war, particularly Montrose. 3. That he bring but one hundred attendants with him into Scotland. 4. That he bring no forces into Scotland from other nations without the consent of the estates. Some advances had been made to Charles for repairing to the marquis of Ormond in Ireland; but the reduction of that island being assigned to Cromwell, such a project was found impracticable; and harsh as were the terms which the Scots had proposed, he resolved to close with them. The earl of Lauderdale, who was then at the Hague, seconded the duke of Hamilton with some warmth; and the very day that the marquis of Huntley was beheaded, the earls of Cassils and Lothian, with other commissioners from the states of Scotland, sailed from the Forth, to treat with Charles at Breda.

It was in vain for the marquis to endeavour to oppose, with his single authority, the sense of almost all the other noblemen; but he certainly retarded the conclusion of the treaty, though it was favoured even by the queen-mother. Montrose was seconded by the earls of Seaforth and Kinnoul, the lord Sinclair, and a few others; and produced letters from the king's friends in Scotland, declaring, that if they could be supported from abroad, they were ready to raise a force sufficient to restore Charles, without any terms, to the thrones of his ancestors. Charles was at this time uneasy at his remaining in Holland, and had resolved to go to France. Previous to this he gave Montrose the garter, and appointed him ambassador to the northern courts, particularly that of Denmark, with a commission empowering him to raise men, and to enter into pecuniary and other engagements, as he should find convenient. The same commission appointed him lieutenant-governor in Scotland, and commander in chief of all the forces there, both by sea and land.

Charles was at last prevailed upon to sign the treaty with the Scottish commissioners, by which he was to throw himself upon the states of that kingdom; but he was still in hopes, that, by the activity of Montrose, he might be enabled to mount the throne without restrictions. Meanwhile, Montrose was executing his embassy with great spirit and success. He was well received at the Imperial and

A.D. 1650.

*Charles
signs the
treaty
with the
Scottish
commis-
sioners.*

and Danish courts. He had encouragement from the queen of Sweden, the Courlanders, and many of the German princes. Hamburgh was appointed to be the rendezvous of his recruits; and he had received a large supply of arms and ammunition, with some money, from Denmark. The prince of Orange furnished him with some ships, and Montrose hastening his enterprize, left the king's agreement with the Scots should make him revoke his commission, set out for the Orkneys with about five hundred men, most of them Germans. These were all the preparations which he could make against a kingdom supported by a disciplined army, and apprised of his expedition. He armed several of the inhabitants of the Orkneys, though an unwarlike people, and carried them over with him to Caithness; hoping, that the general affection to the king's service, and the fame of his former exploits, would make the Highlanders flock to his standard: but all men were now fatigued with wars and disorders; many of those who formerly adhered to him had been severely punished by the covenanters; and no prospect of success was entertained in opposition to so great a force as was collected by that party. The committee of estates immediately ordered Lesley and Holborne to march against him with an army of four thousand men. Strahan was sent before with a body of cavalry to check his progress. He fell unexpectedly on Montrose, who had no horse to bring him intelligence. The royalists were put to flight; all of them either killed or made prisoners, and Montrose himself, having put on the disguise of a peasant, was perfidiously delivered into the hands of his enemies, by a friend in whom he had reposed confidence.

*Montrose
made pri-
soner,*

All the insolence which success can produce in ungenerous minds, was exercised by the covenanters against Montrose. Lesley led him about for several days in the same mean habit under which he disguised himself; the vulgar, wherever he passed, were instigated to reproach and vilify him; and when he came to Edinburgh, every circumstance of elaborate rage and insult was put in practice by order of the parliament. When carried before that body, he maintained the same superiority among his enemies, to which by his illustrious achievements, as well as by the consciousness of a good cause, he was justly entitled. He was condemned to be hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high, and his body to be afterwards treated with the utmost indignity. The clergy positively pro-

nounced his damnation, and assured him that the judgment, which he was soon to suffer, would prove but an easy prologue to what he must undergo hereafter. The sentence was accordingly executed upon him, and he died, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, with a fortitude which neither the cruelty, nor the ignoble treatment of his enemies, was able to subdue. *and executed. May 21.*

Charles no sooner heard of the fate of Montrose, than he threw himself entirely into the hands of the covenanters, and embarked for Scotland with their commissioners. Before he was permitted to land he was required to sign the covenant; and many sermons and lectures were made to him, exhorting him to persevere in that holy confederacy. Hamilton, Lauderdale, Dumfermling, and other noblemen of that party, whom they called Engagers, were immediately separated from him; and none of his English friends, who had served his father, were allowed to remain in the kingdom. The king found that he was considered as a mere pageant of state, and that the few remains of royalty which he possessed, served only to draw upon him the greater indignities. But lying entirely at the mercy of the covenanters, he was constrained to embrace a measure which nothing but the necessity of his affairs, with his youth and inexperience, could excuse. He issued a declaration, such as they required of him: he there gave thanks for the merciful dispensations of Providence, by which he was recovered from the snare of evil counsel: he desired to be deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit, because of his father's following wicked measures, opposing the covenant, and shedding the blood of God's people throughout his dominions: he lamented the idolatry of his mother, and the toleration of it in his father's house: he professed himself attached only to the covenant; that he detested all popery, superstition, prelacy, heresy, schism, and profaneness; and was resolved not to tolerate, much less to countenance, any of them in any of his dominions. *June 23. Charles embarks for Scotland.*

Still the covenanters and the clergy were dissident of the king's sincerity; and they had another trial prepared for him. Instead of the solemnity of his coronation, which was delayed, they were resolved that he should pass through a public humiliation, and do penance before the whole people. They sent him twelve articles of repentance, which he was to acknowledge; and the

king had agreed that he would submit to this indignity. The various transgressions of his father and grandfather, with the idolatry of his mother, are again enumerated and aggravated in these articles; and farther declarations were insisted on, that he sought the restoration of his rights for the sole advancement of religion, and in subordination to the kingdom of Christ.

Charles, in the mean time, found his authority entirely annihilated, as well as his character degraded. He was consulted in no public measure; he was not called to assist at any councils; his favour was sufficient to discredit any pretender to office or advancement; and all efforts which he made to unite the opposite parties, increased the suspicion which the covenanters had entertained of him, as if he were not entirely their own. The advance of the English army, under Cromwell, was not able to appease or soften the animosities among the parties in Scotland. As soon as the English parliament found that the treaty between the king and the Scots would probably terminate in an accommodation, they made preparations for a war, which they saw would, in the end, prove inevitable.

Lesley was appointed commander in chief of the Scots: his army consisted of about twenty-one thousand men, but most of them ill-disciplined, and differing in principles as well as professions. That of Cromwell amounted to eighteen thousand veteran troops, inured to war and victory. Lesley entrenched himself in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith, and took care to remove from the counties of Merse and the Lothians, every thing which could serve to the subsistence of the English army.

*Cromwell
arrives in
Scotland
with an
army.*

Cromwell advanced towards the Scottish camp, and endeavoured, by every expedient, to bring Lesley to a battle; but the latter carefully kept himself within his entrenchments. By skirmishes and small rencounters, he tried to confirm the spirits of his soldiers; and he was successful in these enterprizes. His army daily increased both in numbers and courage. The king came to the camp, and, having exerted himself in an action, gained on the affections of the soldiery. The clergy were alarmed: they ordered Charles immediately to leave the camp: they also purged it carefully of about four thousand malignants and engagers, whose zeal had led them to attend the king, and who were the best soldiers in the nation: they then concluded, that they had an army entirely composed of saints, and that they could not be beaten: they murmured extremely, not only against their prudent general, but
against

against the Lord, on account of his delays in giving them deliverance; and they plainly told him, that if he would not save them from the English sectaries, he should no longer be their God. An advantage having offered itself on a Sunday, they hindered the general from making use of it, lest he should involve the nation in the guilt of Sabbath-breaking.

Cromwell found himself in a very distressed situation, having no provisions but what he received by sea, and these not in sufficient quantity. He therefore retired to Dunbar, whither Lesley followed him, and encamped on the heights of Lammermure, which overlook that town. Between Dunbar and Berwick lay many difficult passes, and of those Lesley had taken possession. The English general was reduced to extremities; he had even embraced a resolution of sending by sea all his foot and artillery to England, and of breaking through, at all hazards, with his cavalry. But the madness of the Scottish ecclesiastics saved him from this loss and dishonour. Night and day the ministers had been wrestling with the Lord in prayer, as they termed it; and they fancied, that they had at last obtained the victory. Revelations, they said, were made them, that the sectarian and heretical army, with Agag, meaning Cromwell, was delivered into their hands. Upon the faith of these visions, they forced their general, in spite of his remonstrances, to descend into the plain, with a view of attacking the English in their retreat. Cromwell observing the enemy's camp in motion, gave orders immediately for an attack, and his veterans charged the undisciplined Scots with so much success, that they hardly met with any resistance, except from one regiment of Highlanders. About three thousand of the Scots were slain, and nine thousand made prisoners. The remnant of their army fled to Stirling. Cromwell took possession of Edinburgh and Leith; but the approach of the winter, and an ague, with which he had been seized, kept him from pushing the victory any farther.

*Battle of
Dunbar.
Sept. 3.*

It is hard to say, whether Cromwell or Charles was the better pleased at the defeat of the covenanters; and it is certain that Charles would have been no gainer, had they proved victorious. The vanquished were now obliged to give him some authority, and to apply to him for support. His intended humiliation or penance was changed into the ceremony of his coronation, which was performed at Scone with great solemnity. But he was still in a situation very ill suited to the gaiety of his temper; obliged to at-

*Coronation
of Charles.
Jan. 1.*

tend from morning to night at prayers and sermons. Tired, at last, with all the formalities, the exhortations, and reprimands, of the clergy, he formed the design of regaining his liberty, and actually fled towards the Highlands; but being overtaken by a troop of horse, he was persuaded to return. This incident procured him afterwards better treatment and more authority. He put himself at the head of the small part of the Scottish army that had survived the defeat; and these he strengthened by the junction of the royalists, whom the covenanters had some time before excluded from his service. Cromwell, however, still followed his blow, pursued the king's forces towards Perth, and cutting off the provisions of the Scottish army, made it impossible for Charles to maintain his forces in that country any longer. In this exigence, he determined to march immediately into England; and thither he accordingly led the Scottish army, amounting to fourteen thousand men. He was soon pursued by Cromwell, who leaving Monk to command the English forces in Scotland, they, in a short time, completed the reduction of the kingdom. In a few years after, this general rendered himself more celebrated by the Restoration, of which he was the principal instrument.

Commissioners sent from England to govern Scotland.

The commissioners who came from England, took up their residence at Dalkeith; and upon their arrival, all public acts passed in their name, and in that of the commonwealth of England. They exacted an oath of fidelity from all who bore offices in Scotland; and in their proceedings, they had no regard to the clergy, nor to any power but their own.

C H A P. VII.

From the Restoration, to the Union of the two Kingdoms.

THE history of Scotland, from this period, as during many preceding years, relates chiefly to ecclesiastical affairs. Charles, from the mortifications which he had formerly met with in that country, conceived a rooted aversion to presbyterianism in all its forms; and in this he was but too much encouraged by his ministers. The Scottish lords who were at court, many of whom had been zealous friends to the covenant, were men of broken fortunes or abandoned principles. Their estates had been dissipated during the late troubles, and they sought to repair them by every possible compliance with the court, or rather with the king, who was at this time considered as the absolute sovereign of Scotland, unfettered by any terms, and at liberty to gratify, in the fullest manner, his resentments. Accordingly a persecution took place among those who had been the most forward in the late commotions; and the marquis of Argyle, and Mr. James Guthrie, a clergyman, were tried and executed.

A.D. 1660.

Charles resolves to restore episcopacy in Scotland.

A.D. 1661.

Argyle and Guthrie executed.

A.D. 1662.

State of Scotland.

When we consider Scotland as being at this time divested of all internal jurisdiction, but what proceeded from the king and his ministers, and her chains now rivetted by her own parliament, which had repealed all the acts passed since the year 1635, that could give security to the subject; when we consider, at the same time, that there was scarcely a gentleman of property in Scotland, not even excepting the lord-commissioner, Middleton, who, when those acts were repealed, was not a rebel in the eye of the law, the conduct of Charles, in the government of that kingdom, will not be found to deserve the severe reproaches with which it has been stigmatized by some writers. The differences between the Resolutioners and Remonstrators, two parties in the nation, facilitated the introduction not only of prelacy, but of arbitrary power. Two parties were also formed in the cabinet, one headed by Middleton, the other by Lauderdale, which suspended, for some time, the effects of the latter. Lauderdale, though utterly void of principle, would have willingly preserved presbyterianism in Scot-

land, because it would have given him a great sway with all the people of that persuasion. Middleton, who knew himself to be hated by Lauderdale, was a furious friend to episcopacy, that he might strengthen his own authority by that of the bishops; and went into all the hierarchical notions of Hyde, and the English prelates. A third party, which was headed by Glencairn, and was composed of the best and most moderate men of property, thought that prelacy was absolutely necessary for preventing the return of the disorders which the nation had lately suffered from the covenanters; but they were for a moderate episcopacy, such as had taken place during part of the reign of James the First. When Lauderdale saw that the prelatical part of the English council was resolved upon the restoration of the bishops of Scotland, he fell in with their views as warmly as Middleton himself had done, and became even more zealous in the cause. The duke of Hamilton and the earl of Crawford endeavoured to make some opposition in council; but without any effect. The earl of Tweeddale was thrown into prison, for no other crime than because in the trial of Guthrie, he had spoke some words in favour of that clergyman.

*Imprisonment of
Tweeddale.*

*Fines imposed upon
the presbyterians.*

It would be tedious to particularize all the acts of cruelty and oppression that passed in this parliament. The commissioner, in order to encrease his own fortune, formed the resolution of arbitrariness amercing the leaders of the presbyterians; and about nine hundred noblemen and gentlemen of all ranks were fined, for no other reason, apparently, but because they were presbyterians, and had submitted, as the whole nation had done, to the English under Cromwell and Monk. The whole of their amercements amounted to the sum of one million seventeen thousand three hundred and fifty-three pounds six shillings and eight pence, Scots.

Bishops restored.

The sees of the ancient bishops were now again filled with incumbents, who, after being consecrated by English prelates, were received in Scotland without any public disturbance.

*Persecution of lord
Lorn.*

The administration of Middleton was violent and iniquitous, beyond precedent. Lord Lorn, son to the late marquis of Argyle, thought himself so ill treated at court, that he had written a free letter to his friend lord Duffus, complaining of the practices of his enemies, in obstructing his being restored to his honours and estate. This letter

was carried into parliament, where Middleton construed it as amounting to leasing-making, by giving the king false impressions of his subjects. It was voted that his majesty should be addressed to send Lorn down to Scotland, which he accordingly did. On the very day of his arrival, he was brought to the bar of the parliament, whence he was sent prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, and soon after tried, and condemned to lose his head; and this sentence he, doubtless, would have suffered, had he not been pardoned by the king.

During the four subsequent years, the most severe oppressions were exercised against the presbyterians, for none conformity; and in some places insurrections broke out; but upon the conclusion of the peace at Breda, Charles found his finances and his credit so very low, that he adopted other measures in Scotland, as well as in England. It was proposed to disband the army; and instead of keeping the Scots in subjection by a military force, to introduce a bond of peace, which was to be tendered to all who were suspected. This was no more than giving security for the peace; and where the parties could not find security, their personal bonds and oaths were to be taken. This mild and wise measure was refused by many enthusiasts for the covenant; and was violently opposed even by the prelates and their party, who insisted upon pressing the declaration, by which the covenant and all conventicles were abjured.¹

A.D. 1667.

The ministry changed, and more moderate measures pursued.

Bond of peace.

Amidst such great prejudices on both sides, the facility of Charles, and the violent temper of Lauderdale, who had now the entire direction of the Scottish affairs, it was impossible that the public tranquillity should long subsist. The persecution of the presbyterians was renewed, with other arbitrary proceedings; the archbishop of St. Andrew's was murdered; and a rebellion broke out, which was suppressed by the duke of Monmouth, who defeated the rebel army at Bothwell-bridge.²

The parliament afterwards proceeded in the test-act. By this act it was proposed, for all that should be capable of any office in church or state, or of electing, or being elected, members of parliament, that they should adhere firmly to the protestant religion; to which the court-party added, the condemning of all resistance in any sort, or under any pretence, the renouncing the covenant, and an obligation to defend all the king's rights and prerogatives; and that they should never meet to treat of any

A.D. 1680.

Test-act.

¹ Burner.

² Ibid.

Argyle condemned.

matter, civil or ecclesiastical, but by the king's permission ; and never endeavour any alteration in the government in church or state : and they were to swear to the performance of all these articles, according to the literal sense of the words. Argyle, for refusing this test, which in fact rendered the royal authority unlimited in Scotland, was tried, and convicted of treason ; but had the good fortune to make his escape.

J A M E S VII.

A.D. 1685.

THE oppressions which had been exercised in Scotland by the ministers of Charles, proceeded, with increased violence, under the government of James. The people, rendered desperate by the rigorous measures of administration, entered into secret conspiracies for throwing off the yoke of a religious and civil tyranny, which was become intolerable ; and these cabals drew upon them the redoubled vengeance of their rulers. The exercise of military violences, which had been begun in the preceding reign, was continued. Numbers of the inhabitants were transported to America. New punishments were devised for the lower sort. The women were whipped, and severely branded with hot irons. The men had one of their ears cut off, and were likewise branded, previous to their transportation. Above two hundred of these convicts were sent slaves to Jamaica, or the continent of America, at one time ; and the number of the sufferers, upon the whole, was prodigious.

The earl of Argyle, who, with other exiles, had taken refuge in Holland, made an invasion in the West, where he excited an insurrection which was, however, soon quelled by the vigilance of government ; and himself was made prisoner, and executed.

As if sufficient violence had not been already offered to the religious prejudices of the Scots, by the persecution of the presbyterians, James openly avowed the protection and encouragement of popery ; but all his measures were suddenly blasted by the Revolution, which placed William on the throne of both kingdoms, in 1688.

W I L L I A M.

A.D. 1689.*Battle of Killikranke.*

THE viscount of Dundee was now the only prop of James's cause in Scotland. He summoned the Highland clans to join him, which they did to the number of two thousand ;

thousand ; and he drove from the Highlands colonel Ramsay, who commanded under general Mackay. The latter receiving a reinforcement, Dundee retired towards Lochaber, where it was impossible to force him to a battle. He soon after marched to raise the siege of the castle of Blair, which held out for James. By this time Mackay had again taken the field, and had advanced to the pass of Killikrankie. A battle ensued, in which Mackay was defeated, with the loss of about two thousand men, and almost all his artillery ; but Dundee, in giving orders about the pursuit, was killed by a random shot, and with him perished all the hopes of the rational Jacobites in Scotland.

Episcopacy, which had so long been an object of hatred to the majority of the Scottish nation, was at last abolished : but the re-establishment of presbytery was attended with dreadful consequences to numbers of the clergy and their families. About three-score ministers were alive of those who had been turned out in the year 1662, and they were replaced in their former livings, with orders to fill up the vacancies in the best manner they could. This opened a door for great abuses. The young men who had been privately ordained in the presbyterian form, and were called to the vacancies, were many of them enthusiasts, and had been heated almost into frenzy by zeal and persecution. They drove the episcopal ministers, their wives and families, from their livings, into the fields, with almost unexampled barbarity ; and some of them perished with cold, hunger, and the otherwise cruel treatment, which they received from those inveterate enemies.

A.D. 1690.

*Episcopacy
abolished.*

These transactions were soon after followed by another tragical scene, which created a considerable prejudice against the government of William. The cause of king James was still favoured by a strong party in the nation, especially among the Highland chieftains, from whose great power and attachment dangerous effects were apprehended. In order to conciliate those men to the established government, the earl of Breadalbane was employed by the court ; and to render his influence more certain, he was promised the sum of fifteen thousand pounds, to be distributed among them at his discretion. The earl, however, soon found that he had undertaken an impracticable task. Such of the Highland chiefs as had submitted to the government, had done it partly on account of the money they were to receive, and partly that they might be the better enabled to serve the abdicated prince.

A.D. 1692.

*Massacre of
Glenco.*

They suspected that the earl intended to appropriate great part of the money to his own use ; and their suspicions were confirmed by his insisting on his being indemnified for certain depredations committed upon his own estates by Macdonald of Glenco. The opposition of the latter influenced the other chieftains ; and the earl went to London, to relate the inefficacy of his negociation, and to return the money that was in his hands. The king had, by proclamation, offered indemnity to all the Highlanders who should surrender themselves, and take the oaths, by such a day, which expired with the year ; but military execution was threatned against all who did not submit by the appointed time.

Macdonald, withstanding his obstinacy, repaired on the last day of the year to colonel Hill, governor of Fort-William, to take the oaths ; but that gentleman being only a military officer, sent him to sir Colin Campbell, sheriff of the county, who administered them to Macdonald, a day or two after the time fixed by the proclamation was elapsed, the country being then covered with a deep fall of snow. The representations of Breadalbane determined the king, who was ignorant of Macdonald's taking the oaths, to give way to military execution being inflicted upon Glenco and his tenants, who were then living quietly at home, on presumption of their having satisfied the government. This barbarous order being signed, and countersigned by the king's own hand, was sent by Dalrymple, secretary of state, to Livingston, who commanded the king's troops in the Highlands, with particular directions " for securing all passes in the valley where the delinquents lived, so as that none of them might escape ; and that no prisoners might be made, that the execution might be as terrible as possible." These orders were executed with a slow, but sure and barbarous punctuality. Captain Campbell of Glenlyon received a warrant from a superior officer to march with a company of Argyle's Highland regiment, into the valley of Glenco, on pretence of levying the taxes. This was in the month of February ; and though Macdonald and some of his friends were, at first, not quite unsuspicious of their new guests, yet the commanding officer's assurances were so friendly, and his men lived upon such social terms with the inhabitants, that all animosities seemed to be forgotten ; and even the night before the massacre, Campbell and old Macdonald spent some hours together at cards. The suspicions of one of the younger Macdonalds were

were revived by certain indications; and he and his brother left the house, to make what discoveries they could. These were such, from the talk of the centinels who were posted round, as to render them no longer doubtful of what was intended; but before they could put their father upon his guard, the massacre was begun. The old gentleman was murdered in his lady's arms, who survived him but a few hours. A neighbouring gentleman, who had the government's protection in his pocket, shared the same fate; and a boy of eight years of age was coolly stabbed to the heart, by one Drummond, a subaltern, while he was embracing on his knees, and imploring his mercy. The number of those who suffered was about thirty-eight, most of whom were killed in their beds. When the massacre was over, the houses of the inhabitants were set on fire, and their effects, amounting to nine hundred cows, two hundred horses, besides sheep and goats, were driven to the garrison of Inverlochy, where they were divided among the assassins. As the order for the massacre extended only to males under seventy, there was no pretext for murdering the females; but they and their children were stripped, and turned naked into the fields, in that inclement season and barren country.

It happened luckily that the weather prevented the other troops from securing the passes, so that the two younger Macdonalds escaped, as did some others of the males who had vigour enough to take their flight: and we are told, that two officers were sent under arrest to Glasgow, for refusing to break their parole to Macdonald, or being accessory to the inhuman order. The number who escaped were about a hundred and sixty, but many of the women and children perished in the cold.

Upon the enquiry, which was afterwards made into this massacre, it appeared, that the earl of Breadalbane had acted entirely by the king's order, and he was consequently pardoned; but great blame was thrown upon the conduct of secretary Dalrymple, and those who were concerned in the massacre. King William, in his instructions, had intended to leave a door open to the most desperate of the rebels for mercy, upon their taking the oath of allegiance. The parliament voted that Dalrymple's letters exceeded the king's instructions; and the king was addressed to send home the most active of the officers and subalterns, who had been concerned in the massacre, that they might be tried. The censure of Dalrymple was referred to the king, for the vindication of government.

William,

William, notwithstanding the detestation in which he held the massacre, did not think proper to proceed to extremities. No censure was inflicted on secretary Dalrymple; and the officers, instead of being punished, were continued in the service.

The only public transactions in Scotland, after this period, were, the attempt to establish a settlement on the isthmus of Darien, and the union with England. The former was frustrated by the jealousy of the English; but the latter, after much opposition in the Scottish parliament, as well as from the prejudices of the nation, was, at last, to the advantage of both kingdoms, happily accomplished, under the reign of queen Anne, in the year 1707.

From this epoch the history of Scotland is naturally blended with that of England.

I N D E X.

A.

ACHAIUS, famous in Scottish history, for being a king of renown, and for the league he concluded with Charlemagne, page 10.

Act, famous, justifying rebellion, how styled in the Scotch law-books, 100.

Albany, duke of, regent of Scotland, 140. His death, 143. That family extirpated, 147.

—, duke of, brother to James III. of Scotland, escapes his endeavours to surprise him, 185. His infamous agreement with Edward IV. of England, 188. Does not meet with a reception answerable to his expectations, 191. Negotiation with him, 192. Engages in fresh acts of treason, 193. Arrives in England, 194.

—, duke of, chosen regent, under James V. 218. Intrigues against him, particularly of the queen-mother and her faction, whom he disappoints, 220. Upon the death of the young duke of Rothsay, is declared next heir to the crown after James, 222. Goes to France, and upon his return, finding the kingdom in great disorder, repairs again to France, 225.

Alexander, surnamed the Fierce, succeeds in the Scottish throne his brother Edgar, 45. Suppresses a number of insurgents, 46. And reduces his kingdom to some order, ib. Dies a bachelor, ib.

— II. succeeds his father William in the throne of Scotland, 61. His demands on king John of England slighted, upon which he marches into England, 62. His marriage, ib. Dies, ib.

— III. crowned king of Scotland at Scone, with great solemnity,

63. Marries the daughter of Henry III. of England, pays homage for his English possessions, but declines to pay homage for the crown of Scotland, ib. His uncomfortable state and that of his queen, being both kept confined as state-prisoners in the castle of Edinburgh, 64. They are relieved by the king of England, 65. Intrigues of the Cummins, ib. Dispute with Norway, 66. The Danes, defeated with great slaughter, 67. Alexander and his queen are magnificently entertained at the English court, ib. Alexander assists at the coronation of Edward I. 68. And appears in parliament, as the first peer of England, ib. Death of his son, the prince Alexander, ib. Death of the king, without other surviving issue than an infant princess, ib. See Scotland, state of, at the time of Alexander's death. Margaret, called the good queen of Scotland, wife to Malcolm III. the bones of, taken up and placed in a golden shrine, enriched with precious stones, 63.

Alpin, upon the death of Dongal, mounts the throne of Scotland, 13. His war with the Picts, who defeat him by stratagem, 14.

Amberkeleth, a Scottish king, killed while invading the dominions of the Picts, 7.

Angus, earl of, married to the queen-mother of James V. 217. Attainted, and is obliged to fly into England for refuge, 226.

Anlaf observes the situation of the English army in the disguise of a harper, 22.

Anne of Denmark, married to James VI. of Scotland, 365.

Anne,

I N D E X.

Anne, queen, under her auspices, the union of Scotland with England, is happily accomplished, 441.

Apparition, as imagined, of St. Andrew, to James IV. of Scotland, 208.

d'Arcy, the vice-regent of Scotland, circumstances of the murder of, 225.

Argyle and Guthrie executed, 435.

Armorial bearing and motto of the family of Keith, whence, 31.

Arran, earl of, ruin of the, 181.

— earl of, chosen regent, under Mary queen of Scots, 230. Loses much of the public confidence by consenting to the schemes of Henry VIII. 231.

— earl of, favourite with James VI. is gained over by queen Elizabeth to her views, 340. Is disgraced, 346.

Arts and sciences, objects of the attention of James I. of Scotland, 150.

Astrology, judicial, James III. of Scotland, infatuated with, 183.

Aydan, story of his accession to the throne of Scotland, ridiculous, 5.

B.

BABINGTON's conspiracy against queen Elizabeth, account of, 348. Mary, queen of Scots, charged with being concerned in it, 351.

Baliol, John, his priority to Bruce in the succession of Scotland, decided, 79. Judgment also given for him, and he is crowned at Scone, 80. He performs his homage to Edward I. of England, for the crown of Scotland, in the most ample terms, *ib.* Indignities offered to him, yet the necessary consequence of vassalage, 81. Negotiation between him and the court of France, *ib.* He resigns to the states of Scotland the exercise of his power, 82. Is absolved from his oath of allegiance to Edward, by the pope, which he accordingly renounces, 83. The spirit of his nation, broken by misfortunes, he again makes a solemn resignation of his crown into the hands of Edward, 84. Is carried prisoner to London; two years after is restored to liberty, and dies in a private station in France, 85.

—, Edward, son of king John Baliol, secretly encouraged by Edward III. of England, to invade Scotland, 113. He defeats the Scots at Dupplin, 114. Gains a considerable victory by sea, is crowned at Scone; but

soon after is defeated and driven back into England, *ib.* After the defeat of the Scots at Halidown-hill, he is left with a considerable body of English troops to complete the conquest of Scotland, 116. His progress, 124. Resigns, and for what reasons, his pretensions to the crown of Scotland, 128.

Bannockburn battle, in which the English, seized with a panic, are pursued with great slaughter by Robert Bruce, 101.

Banquo, see Macbeth.

Beaton, cardinal, his ambition, 230. Engrosses the chief direction of affairs, 232. Is murdered, 234.

Birth of James VI. of Scotland, said to have forced tears from queen Elizabeth, 273.

Bohun, Henry de, engages in single combat with Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, but at one stroke is cleft to the chin by him with a battle-axe, 101.

Bond, famous, history of a, in which the marriage of Mary, queen of Scots, with Bothwell, is proposed and subscribed to, 283.

Bothwell, earl of, grows into great credit with Mary, queen of Scots, for the support he had afforded her against the murderers of David Rizzio, 273. Is wounded in executing her commands, and visited by her in that condition, 275. Is not only suspected, but named as the murderer of lord Darnley, 278. Is tried for it, and acquitted, 282. Famous bond, in which his marriage with the queen is proposed and subscribed to, 283. Carries off the queen to Dunbar, and gets himself divorced from his own wife, 284. Brings back the queen to Edinburgh, and receives her pardon for detaining her a prisoner, *ib.* The bans of marriage between him and the queen, proclaimed, 285. Is married publicly and privately to her, 286. Confederacy against him and the queen, 287. Is obliged to fly, 289. His fate, 293.

Boyd, lord, makes himself master of the person of James III. 180. His projects bold and extensive, 181.

Brechin, battle of, 171.

Bruce, Robert, the Elder, his title to the crown of Scotland, 79. Is excluded the succession, *ib.* He brings a farther plea, *ib.* Which is negatived, 80. Is afterwards courted by Edward I. of England, in opposition

INDEX.

to Baliol, and with his young son performs homage to him, 83. See Bruce the Younger.

Bruce, Robert, the Younger, his conference with Wallace, and the effects it had on him, 89. Become a new and fortunate leader to conduct the Scots to liberty and vengeance, 96. His engagement with Cummin, 97. His narrow escape from London, *ib.* Arrives in Scotland, and kills Cummin for his treachery, 98. Attacks with success the dispersed bodies of the English, and gets possession of many castles, *ib.* Is solemnly crowned at Scone, but soon after defeated at Methven, is obliged to take shelter in the Western Isles, *ib.* After the death of Edward I. of England, resumes his military operations in the western part of Scotland, 99. Obtains a complete victory over the lords of the Cummin party, *ib.* Inconsiderate conduct of Edward II. of England, *ib.* He prepares to invade Scotland with a very considerable army, 100. Bloody conflict between two bodies of cavalry, 101. Robert's prowess in this action, by single combat with Henry de Bohun, *ib.* Battle of Bannockburn, in which the English, seized with a panic, took to a precipitate flight, and were pursued with great slaughter, *ib.* Robert invades England, 102. And afterwards Ireland, but a famine obliges him to return, *ib.* The pope's mediation between the two crowns, to what it amounted, 103. Robert is excommunicated, 410. He takes Berwick, *ib.* Edward besieges Berwick, 105. A truce concluded, 106. Robert invades England, *ib.* Edward invades Scotland, *ib.* But is pursued into England by Robert, 107. Another truce, *ib.* Conspiracy against Robert discovered, and the plotters punished, *ib.* War again breaks out between the Scots and English, 108. Bold attempt of lord Douglas, 109. Terms of peace, 110. The prince of Scotland married to the princess Joan of England, *ib.* Robert's political testament, 111. His death and character, *ib.*

C.

CARRON, Alexander, whence he obtained the name of Skirmisher, 46.

Casket and papers of Mary, queen of

Scots, produced at the conference at York, story of the, 309. Inconsistencies therein, 310. The story, liable to many objections, 311. Charles I. king of Scotland, after the death of his father James, intends to resume the church lands, 378. Also sheriff-ships, and other heritable jurisdictions, 379. He visits Scotland, and is crowned at Holyrood-house, 380. Proceedings of his parliament there, which laid the foundations of all the subsequent miseries of this reign in Scotland, 381. Charles, tired of his abode in Scotland, *ib.* Trial and condemnation of lord Balmerino, 382. Promotion of Spotswood, archbishop of St. Andrew's to the office of chancellor, affords the nation a melancholy prospect both in religion and civil government, 383. State of parties in Scotland at this time, 384. Furious measures of Laud, 385. Proclamation for receiving the liturgy, *ib.* Tumult at Edinburgh, *ib.* Petitions against the service-book, 386. Impolitic conduct of Charles herein, 387. Removal of the service-book, still insisted upon, 388. Amidst tumultuous proceedings, no regard is paid to either public or private business, 389. Charles has nothing to oppose to a violent combination of the whole kingdom but a proclamation, 390. This produces that famous deed, called the Covenant, *ib.* Characters of the covenanting noblemen, 391. Their demands, 392. The marquis of Hamilton, commissioner, 393. A counter-covenant, 394. General assembly, 395. Episcopacy abolished, *ib.* Preparations for war, 396. The chiefs of the covenanters exert themselves with amazing activity, 397. Charles's attachment to the hierarchy makes him hasten his military preparations, 398. The covenanters amused with a negotiation 399. The covenanters under some difficulties how to proceed, 400. Some few hostilities on both sides, 401. Petition of the covenanters to the king, 402. A hasty pacification, 403. The people exasperated more than ever against it, 404. Grievances complained of, 405. A parliament held by the king's orders, effects nothing, 406. A parliament, assembled by the covenanters, enacts a number of statutes, which become the basis of civil and religious liberty in Scotland, 407. The

I N D E X.

- The war is renewed, 408. Difficulties of Charles for raising money to support it, 409. The Scots invade England, 410. The royalists are routed at Newbourn, *ib.* Treaty at Rippon, 411. The king's journey to Scotland, 412. Settlement of Scotland, 413. Fatal blow given to royal authority, 414. Dangerous rebellion in Ireland, and the king at war with his English subjects, 415. Solemn league and covenant, framed at Edinburgh by the persuasion of sir Henry Vane, the younger, *ib.* The Scots arm, 416. And England, invaded by them, throws the king into fresh embarrassment, 417. Parties of duke Hamilton and Montrose attached to the king's service, 418. Progress and victories of Montrose, who gains the battle of Tippermoor and of Aberdeen, 419. He worships the covenanters at Fyvie, *ib.* Gains the battles of Inverlochy and Aldernie, 420. That of Alford, and the almost decisive battle of Kilsyth, 421. Is at length, after a sharp conflict, defeated by Lesley, and obliged to fly into the mountains, 422. Repeated disasters having now every where attended the royal party, the king forms the fatal resolution of repairing to the Scottish army at Newark, *ib.* Is delivered up by them to the English parliament, *ib.* Proceedings of the Scottish covenanters and royalists in Scotland, *ib.* The marquis of Huntley made prisoner, 423. Second civil war, 424. Invasion from Scotland, 425. Civil war and invasion repressed, 426. Execution of Charles, *ib.* And of duke Hamilton, 427. State of Scotland after the defeats of Montrose and Hamilton, *ib.*
- Charles II. his deplorable situation at the Hague at the time of his father's death, 428. Argyle declares him to be the rightful heir of his father, and lawful king of Scotland, *ib.* He signs the treaty with the Scottish commissioners, 429. Montrose made prisoner, 430. And executed, 431. Charles embarks for Scotland, *ib.* Cromwell arrives in Scotland with an army, 432. Battle of Dunbar, in which the covenanters are defeated, 433. Coronation of Charles, 434. He escapes, and continues abroad till his restoration, *ib.* In the mean time commissioners from England govern Scotland, *ib.* After his restoration Charles resolves to restore episcopacy to Scotland, 435. Argyle and Guthrie executed, *ib.* State of Scotland at this time, *ib.* Imprisonment of Tweeddale, 436. Fines inflicted upon the presbyterians, *ib.* Bishops restored, *ib.* Persecution of lord Lorn, *ib.* The ministry changed, and more moderate measures pursued, *ib.* Bond of peace, 437. Test act, *ib.* Argyle condemned, *ib.*
- Chrichton, William, his administration of Scotland, as chancellor, under James II. 157, & seq.
- Church-lands, intention of resuming them by Charles I. in Scotland, a source of great mischiefs, 381, & seq.
- Clans, character of the ancient of Scotland, and the desperate manner in which they engaged in their feudal disputes, 136.
- Cochran, and his associates, upon what account hanged at Lawder, 189.
- Columba, an Irish saint, apostle of the Western Scots, some account of, 5.
- Conference, at York, between English and Scottish commissioners, to try the cause between Mary, queen of Scots, and her subjects, proceedings at the, 308. Removed to Hampton-court, 315.
- Congal, king of Scots, son of Don-gard, succeeds his uncle, Constantine I. 4.
- Congregation, union of the Protestants in Scotland, first distinguished by that name, 244. Involved in difficulties they apply to queen Elizabeth, 252. Who sends an English fleet to their assistance, *ib.*
- Conspiracy, the plotters of, against Robert Bruce, punished, 107.
- , against James I. of Scotland, 155. Circumstances of his murder, *ib.*
- Constantine I. succeeds his brother Don-gard, as king over the Scots, 4. History of his reign very doubtful. *ib.*
- II. son of Kenneth Mac Alpin, ascends the throne of Scotland after the death of his uncle Donald, 17. Defeats the division of the Danes under Hubba, that had invaded Scotland, but afterwards is totally routed, and slain by another division under Hungar, *ib.*
- III. son of Eth Swiftfoot, ascends the throne of Scotland after Donald II. 20. Confederated with the Danes against Edward the Elder of

of England, he is totally defeated by Athelstan, natural son of Edward, *ib.*
 Interview between him and Athelstan, then king of England, 21.
 Not productive of a lasting amity, *ib.*
 Constantine and his confederates, Irish, Danes, and Cumbrians, being afterwards completely defeated by Athelstan, 22.
 Who, invading Scotland, stripped Constantine of many of his provinces, *ib.* Whereupon Constantine, dispirited, resigns his crown, *ib.*
 Constantine the Bald, ascends the throne of Scotland immediately after the death of Kenneth III. 27.
 Issue of the civil war occasioned thereby, *ib.*
 Conval, extolled for his princely qualities, succeeds as king of Scotland, his brother Eugene II. 5.
 —, nephew to Achaius, succeeds him in the throne of Scotland, 11.
 Council, national, held at Holyroodhouse, 57.
 Craig, John, a minister of Edinburgh, refuses to publish the bans of marriage, because illegal, between Mary, queen of Scots and Bothwell, 285.
 Crawford, earl of, a formidable chieftain in the northern parts of Scotland, 164. Submits, 172.
 Cressingham, a person so odious to the Scots, that they tread his body, and made saddles and girths of his skin, 87.
 Culen, a king of Scotland, charged with an unbounded passion for women, is at length assassinated for despoiling the daughter of the thane of Fife, 24.
 Cummin, the legal governor of Scotland under Baliol, acts a pusillanimous part, 89. His submission to Edward I. of England, 95. His compromise with Bruce, 97. Is killed by Bruce for his treachery, 98.
 Cummins, the family of the, exercise an exorbitant power in the beginning of the reign of Alexander III. 64. Their intrigues suppressed, though pardoned with their adherents, 66.
 Covenant, in Scotland, by what means that famous deed was produced, 390. Articles of it 391. A counter-covenant, 394.
 Covenanters, their petition to the king, 402. A parliament held by them, enacts a number of statutes, which become the basis of civil and religious liberty in Scotland, 407.
 Covenanting noblemen, their characters and demands, 392.

D.

DARNLEY, lord, makes an impression upon Mary, queen of Scots, at their first interview, and she determines to marry him, 265. The marriage accordingly celebrated, 267. He loses the queen's affections, and upon what account, 271. The breach between them becomes every day more apparent, 273. He resolves to leave Scotland, *ib.* Her aversion to him seems altogether incurable, 275. Proposals of a divorce between them, which she rejects, 276. His capricious behaviour at the baptism of the prince, *ib.* He falls sick at Glasgow, 277. The queen has him conveyed to Edinburgh for the convenience of being better attended, *ib.* The house he lays in is blown up with gunpowder, 278. See Bothwell.
 David, succeeds his brother Alexander, as king of Scots, and, at the time of his accession, was the most powerful subject in England, 47. Marches an army into England in favour of Henry II. *ib.* His death and character, 48.
 — II. son of Robert Bruce, at his accession to the crown, was little more than five years of age, 111. His guardian, Thomas Randolph, earl of Murray, bends his whole attention to continue the nation in the tranquillity it enjoyed, *ib.* He dies in a short time after, universally regretted, 112. The earl of Mar chosen regent, *ib.* Grounds of a new war with England, *ib.* Edward Baliol, son of the late king John Baliol, is secretly encouraged by Edward III. of England to invade Scotland, 113. An advantage gained by him animates his party, and swells his army, *ib.* He defeats afterwards the Scots at Dupplin, 114. And gains a complete victory by sea, *ib.* Is crowned at Scone, *ib.* But soon after is defeated and driven back into England, *ib.* War with England, 115. The Scots are defeated at Halidown-hill, *ib.* A negotiation, which proves abortive, 116. The English renew the invasion of Scotland, 117. The Scots again revolt, *ib.* A truce, 118. A new truce, *ib.* The Scots retake the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, 119. The castle

- castle of Roxburgh reduced, *ib.* David lands in Scotland, *ib.* Invades England, 120. Returns to Scotland, *ib.* A truce, *ib.* The Scots again invade England, 121. A negotiation, but the terms rejected by David, who marches into England, 122. A battle, in which David is made prisoner, 123. And brought to the Tower of London, 124. The earl of Menteith executed, *ib.* Progress of Baliol, *ib.* A truce, 125. Scotland visited by a plague, *ib.* David is permitted to come to Scotland, 126. His honourable behaviour, *ib.* Negotiation about David's ransom, *ib.* The Scots reject a dishonourable treaty agreed to by the king, 127. Successes of the Scots, *ib.* Baliol, and for what reasons, now resigns his pretensions to the crown of Scotland, 128. Edward's fleet wrecked on the coast of Scotland, induces him to consent to a truce with the Scots, *ib.* Treaty for David's ransom, 129. He is displeased with the guardian, whom he disinherits, *ib.* David's connections with England, *ib.* His death, 130.
- Devil's Cave, in Scotland, where king Constantine II. was beheaded by the Danes, 17.
- Discord, civil, rages with unbounded fury over Scotland, 164.
- , origin of the, between queen Elizabeth and Mary, queen of Scots, 255.
- Donald, elected king of Scotland, 6.
- succeeds his brother Kenneth, as king of Scotland, 17.
- II. succeeds Gregory the Great, and imitates the virtues of his predecessor, 19. His various success against the enemies of Scotland, 20.
- , surnamed Bane, brother to Malcolm III. succeeds him in the throne of Scotland, 43. He expels all foreigners from Scotland, *ib.* But calls in some Norwegian auxiliaries to oppose his enemies, 44. All Scotland at this time in great confusion, two usurpers contending for the crown, and each supported by an army of foreigners, *ib.* Donald has his eyes put out, and is condemned to perpetual imprisonment, in which he dies, 45.
- Dongal, the son of Solvaith, ascends the Scottish throne after Conval, 11. The harmony between the Scots and Picts begins to be interrupted in his reign, and upon what account, 12.
- Dongard, brother to Eugene, succeeds him as king over the Scots, 2. Endeavours to propagate the Christian religion in his dominions, *ib.* Æra of his death, *ib.*
- Douglas, lord, bold attempt of, to seize the person of the king of England, 109.
- and Piercy, the families of, constantly at variance, 130.
- , earl of, the great power of the, induces him to brave both the governor Levingston, and the chancellor Chrichton, 161. He is put to death with his brother, 162.
- , family of, their interest declines with James II. of Scotland, 167. The family in rebellion, 168. James kills the earl of Douglas with his own hand, 169. Civil war thereupon, 170.
- , domestic broils fomented by the earl of, 178.
- Duff, the successor of Indulf in the throne of Scotland, proves himself an excellent prince, 23.
- Dukes first created in Scotland, 137.
- Dunbar, battle of, in which the covenanters are defeated by Cromwell, 433.
- Duncan, grandson to Malcolm, mounts the throne after his death, 32. His territories invaded by the Danes, who, by stratagem, are compelled to desist from all future attempts of annoying Scotland, 33. Duncan murdered by Macbeth, 34.
- Dupplin, battle of, 114.
- Durham, battle of, in which David, king of Scots, is made prisoner, 123.
- Durissus, a king of the Picts, 2.

E.

- E**DGAR, king of Scotland, dies, after a peaceable reign of nine years, 45.
- Episcopal order, abolition of in Scotland, but the court does not acquiesce to the decree, 332.
- Eth, surnamed Swiftfoot, reigns but one year in Scotland after his brother Constantine II. 17.
- Ethfin, a pacific king of Scotland, 8.
- Eugene, eldest son of Fergus II. succeeds him as king over the Scots, 2. Conditions of peace imposed by him, in conjunction with the king of the Picts, on the Britons, 3. His death and character, *ib.*

Eugene

I N D E X.

Eugene II. king of Scots, commended for his many excellent civil institutions, 4.

— III. his elevation to the throne of Scotland, owing to the influence of St. Columba in the affairs of government, 6.

— IV. a king of Scotland, successful with the Picts, against Egfrid, king of Northumberland, 8.

— V. king of Scots, dies after a peaceful reign of seventeen years, 7.

— VI. and VII. transactions of their reigns in Scotland, 8.

— VIII. a Scottish king of great valour and resolution, 9.

Expedition, foolish, why a new Scots war with England was so styled, 143.

F

FALAISE, convention at, 55. Confirmed by the Scottish nobles and great landholders, who put themselves and their country under the protection of Henry II. of England, 56.

Falkirk, battle of, in which the Scots, under Wallace, completely defeat the English, 88. Another battle, in which the Scots are routed with great slaughter, 89.

Ferchard, a king of Scotland, favours the Pelagian heresy, 6.

— I. a king of Scotland, stigmatized as a monster of vice and tyranny, 7.

Fergus, first king of Scotland, said to have reigned three hundred and thirty years before the birth of Christ, 1.

— II. son of Erth, said to have been king of the Scots about the year 400, 1.

— III. king of Scots, poisoned by his queen in a fit of jealousy, 9.

Flodden-field, battle of, which proved so fatal to the Scots, 213.

Ford, lady, an Englishwoman, mistress to James IV. of Scotland, some account of, 209, & seq.

G

GLENCOE, massacre of, 440. Inquiry made into it, 441.

Gordon, sir John, beheaded, 262.

Grace-drink, to what owing the rise of that term, 41.

Gray, a favourite with James VI. sent

ambassador to England, enters into queen Elizabeth's schemes, and betrays Mary, queen of Scots' secrets to her, 342. His perfidy in another instance, 360. His disgrace and punishment not adequate to his villainy, 365.

Gregory, distinguished by the appellation of Great, reigns in Scotland, 17. Defeats the Picts and Danes, and takes Berwick, 18. Great friendship subsists between him and Alfred the Great, ib. He dispossesses the Cumbrian Britons, yet protects them against the incursions of the Danes, ib. Invades Ireland, and upon what account, 19. His death and character, ib.

Grime, heir to Constantine the Bald, becomes king of Scotland after him, 27. Is mortally wounded fighting against Malcolm, who claimed the crown, 28.

Gonran, king of Scots, succeeds his brother Congal, 4.

Gowries, two brothers, their conspiracy against James VI. the scheme of, strange and inexplicable, 368. The king narrowly escapes, ib. Gowrie, pierced through the heart, falls down dead without uttering a word, 369. Nothing found about him but a parchment bag, full of magical characters, and words of enchantment, the intent of which hard to be conjectured, ib. Real motives of the two brothers entirely unknown, ib. Some of their attendants suffer death, 370. Reflections on the whole of this affair, 371. See Sprot.

H

HALIDOWN-HILL, battle of, 115.

Hamilton and Bothwell, earls of, dissension between, soon after the arrival of Mary, queen of Scots, 259.

—, duke of, executed, 427.

Homeldon, signal, for a total rout of the Scots, 139.

Hume, earl of, and his brother, betrayed and beheaded, 223.

Hungus, king of the Picts, the male line of that monarchy becomes extinct on his death, 12. By what means the Pictish government was at length subverted, 16. See Pictish kingdom.

Huntley, breaks out into open rebellion against Mary, queen of Scots, 261. Is defeated and killed, 262.

I.

JAMES I. (Stuart), the title of, recognized in a convention of the states, and the duke of Albany appointed regent, 140. Treatment of James at the English court, 141. The truce expiring, and the regent refusing to renew it, the Scots take and demolish the castle of Jedburgh, ib. Treaties for the ransom of James, upon what account discontinued, 142. A new war with England, styled the foolish expedition, 143. Death of the duke of Albany, ib. He is succeeded in the regency by his son Murdoc, ib. James is brought over to the English camp in France, where he is solicited by Henry V. of England, to order all the Scots in the French service immediately to depart that kingdom, 144. Magnanimity of James in this trying situation, ib. The duke of Bedford favours James, ib. Commissioners from Scotland allowed to have an interview with their captive queen at Pomfret, 145. Treaty about James's ransom, ib. Proposal for his marriage, ib. Which is celebrated, 146. James arrives in Scotland, and is crowned at Scone, ib. His conduct after his restoration, 147. His severity of government, ib. He extirpates the Albany family, ib. Being tried and condemned, 148. Civil conduct of James, 149. Arts and sciences, objects of his attention, 150. His political institutions, 151. The hostages still remain in England, without any effectual measure being taken for their deliverance, 152. Transactions with England, 153. The earl of Ross subdued, but pardoned, ib. Civil broils, 154. James besieges Roxburgh, where intelligence is brought him by the queen of a conspiracy against him, 155. Circumstances of his murder, ib. His character and issue, 156.

James II. (Stuart) succeeded to the throne when he was but seven years old, 157. Administration of Scotland between Alexander Levingston

of Callendar, as governor, and William Crichton, as chancellor, which, by their jarring interests, proved extremely unfortunate for the public, ib. The young king stolen away by his mother, 158. Marriage of the queen-mother, 159. Imprisoned with her husband, but released, ib. The king carried away from Stirling, 160. Wife conduct of Levingston on this occasion, ib. Great power of the earl of Douglas, who continues to brave both the governor and chancellor, 161. He is put to death with his brother, 162. The young king, at the age of fourteen, takes the administration into his own hands, ib. Fresh broils, 163. Crawford, almost as formidable in the northern parts as Douglas had been in the southern, 164. Civil discord rages with unbounded fury over the kingdom, ib. Death of the queen-mother, 165. Severities inflicted on the Callendar family, 166. James contracted to Mary of Gueldres, ib. Scotland invaded by the earl of Northumberland, ib. Battle of Sark, in which the English are routed with great loss, ib. The interest of the Douglasses declines, 167. Arrival of the queen, ib. The family of Douglas in rebellion, 168. James kills the earl of Douglas with his own hand, 169. A civil war, ib. The country suffers the most cruel devastations, 170. Battle of Brechin, 171. Unlawful association by many great lords, ib. The earl of Crawford submits, 172. A treaty with England, 173. The earl of Ross subdued, ib. Good situation of the king, 174. Harmony between the king and his people, and the truce with England prolonged, 175. The queen of England is harboured by him, which gives occasion to his besieging Roxburgh castle, ib. Where he is accidentally killed, 176. His character and issue, ib.

James III. (Stuart) at his accession was scarce seven years old, 177. Roxburgh castle taken and demolished, ib. The administration committed to the bishop of St. Andrew's, 178. Berwick restored to Scotland, ib. Domestic broils fomented by the earl of Douglas, ib. A treaty with England, ib. Death of the queen-mother, 179. Death of bishop Kennedy,

nedy, the regent, *ib.* Lord Boyd makes himself master of the king's person, and finds means to procure himself the high station of first minister, 180. He projects bold and extensive enterprizes, among others, that of matching him with Margaret, the daughter of the king of Denmark, *ib.* He is accordingly married to her, 181. Ruin of the earl of Arran, *ib.* The king's sister divorced from the earl of Arran, 182. And married to the lord of Hamilton, 183. James infatuated by judicial astrology, *ib.* Death of his brother, the earl of Mar, 184. Eager also to have in his power his other brother, the duke of Albany, he thinks to surprize him, but he escapes from his hands, 185. Distractions in Scotland, 186. War with England, 187. Infamous agreement of the duke of Albany with Edward IV. of England, 188. James raises an army, 189. Cochran and his associates hanged at Lawder, *ib.* James confined in the castle of Edinburgh, 190. The duke of Albany does not, however, meet with a reception answerable to his expectations, 191. Negotiation with him, 192. Fresh treasons of the duke of Albany, 193. Douglas made prisoner at the battle of Kirkconnel, 194. Confederacy of the Scotch lords against James, 195. An insurrection, 196. The duke of Rothefay, the king's eldest son, heads the rebels, 197. James assembles his army, 198. Is betrayed by the governor of Stirling castle, *ib.* Is defeated in battle, and soon after murdered, 199. Some farther particulars of his reign and character, *ib.* James IV. (Stuart) though at the head of the rebels against his father, he is recognized as king, 200. The rebels vindicate the regicide, *ib.* The affair of Wood, in attacking some English ships of war, 201. Henry VII. of England, determined to revenge the disrespect shewn his squadron, 202. James invades Edgland, 203. Proposal of a marriage serves to accelerate an accommodation between the two crowns, 204. The marriage negotiation finished, and a treaty of perpetual peace concluded, 205. James applies himself with great assiduity to building ships, *ib.* Chastises the Netherlanders, 206. Superstition of James in performing pilgrimages, *ib.* His alliance with France excites

a jealousy between him and Henry VIII. of England, 207. Invasion of England, 208. The Scots defeated, *ib.* James, exasperated by this defeat, continues, with additional vigour, his preparations for invading England, *ib.* His queen endeavours to derer him from his purpose, but in vain, 209. She had cause also to believe him unfaithful to her bed, *ib.* James besieges and takes Norham castle, 210. The earl of Surry marches against him, *ib.* The indolence, inactivity, and scandalous example of James's amours, gives disgust to his principal officers, 211. Council of war held upon a message from the earl of Surry, that he should give quarter to none but the king himself, *ib.* The king's answer to this message, 212. The battle fought in Flodden-field, 213. The king and his chief nobility killed, 214. His body his carried away to be buried, and upon what account, at Skene, in Surry, 215. James's character and issue, 216.

James V. (Stuart) crowned king when not a year and a half old, 217. The queen appointed regent, *ib.* Delivered of a posthumous son, baptized Alexander, *ib.* She marries the earl of Angus, which causes disputes about the propriety of regent, 218. The duke of Albany at length chosen regent, *ib.* Intrigues against him, 219. Particularly of the queen and her faction, whom he disappoints, 220. Rebellious proceedings in different parts, 221. Death of the young duke of Rothefay, 222. The regent hereupon declared next heir to the crown after James, *ib.* The earl of Hume and his brother betrayed and beheaded, 223. The regent goes to France, 224. The queen-mother denied admittance to her son, *ib.* D'Arcy, the viceregent, murdered, 225. The regent now returns to Scotland, but finding the kingdom in great disorder, withdraws to France, *ib.* The earl of Angus attainted, is obliged to fly into England for refuge, 226. The king assumes the reins of government, and in that respect shews excellent dispositions, *ib.* Institution of the court of session, 227. A rupture with England, *ib.* Raid of Solway-moiss, a battle so called, wherein the Scots surrendered, without striking a single blow, 228. The king is so affected

by the disgrace, that he languished for a few days, and died, *ib.* His character, person, and issue, 229.

James VI. crowned, and Murray chosen regent, 292. The regent's interview with Mary, *ib.* Fate of Bothwell, 293. Affairs take a turn in favour of the queen, 294. She escapes from her confinement, *ibid.* And the means variously represented, 295. Arrives at Hamilton, and raises a numerous army, 296. Battle of Langside hill, 297. The queen's army defeated, *ib.* Her flight, *ibid.* She arrives in England, and implores Elizabeth's protection, 298. Elizabeth deliberates concerning the manner of treating her, 299. Will not admit her to her presence till she clears her character from the foul aspersions it had been stained with, *ib.* Commissioners named by Elizabeth to try the cause between Mary and her subjects, 303. This is opposed by Mary's ambassador, Herries; but Elizabeth persists in her resolution, *ib.* Proceedings of Mary's party in Scotland, 304. Elizabeth takes no notice of them, though they had strong operation, 305. Imprudent and fatal compliance of Mary to the views of Elizabeth, *ib.* The regent invades the counties where Mary's interest was most prevalent, 306. Conference at York between Scots and English commissioners, 307. Their proceedings, 308. Heavy charge brought against the regent, *ib.* Story of the casket and papers, 309. Inconsistencies therein, 310. The story liable to other objections, 311. First evidence of the existence of the letters, 313. Strong evidence that these letters were forgeries, 315. Scene of the conferences removed to Hampton-court, *ib.* The regent is assassinated, in revenge of a private injury, 316. Mary's friends in Scotland take arms, and commit some ravages on the borders, *ib.* Elizabeth sends an army into the North, *ib.* Artifices of Elizabeth, *ib.* She procures the earl of Lenox to be appointed regent, *ib.* Character of the duke of Norfolk, *ib.* Progress of his marriage with Mary, 317. Is committed to the Tower, *ib.* Revolt of the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland in his favour, and on other pretexts, *ib.* Their forces disperse, and Norfolk is set at liberty, upon a promise of proceed-

ing no farther in his pretensions to the queens of Scots, 318. He is, however, soon after executed for a like attempt, *ibid.* Distracted state of Scotland, *ibid.* King's-men and queen's-men become names of distinction, *ib.* The king's party is seized in Stirling, 319. Kirkaldy, the author of this daring enterprize, *ib.* Lenox, the regent, falls a sacrifice in the contest, 320. The earl of Mar, however, of the king's party, is appointed regent, and Mary's interest declines, not only in Scotland, but among the English, *ib.* Proceedings in England against her, *ib.* Ambition and envy of the earl of Morton in thwarting Mar's measures, who sickens thereon, and dies, 321. Morton appointed regent by the support of Elizabeth, *ib.* Kirkaldy besieged in the castle of Edinburgh, which he held in the queen's name, *ib.* Surrenders to the English general Drury, and is given up by Elizabeth to Morton, who orders him to be hanged, 322. The regent's administration becomes odious, *ibid.* Plot formed against him, *ib.* He resigns his office, and retires, 323. Resumes his former authority, *ib.* And keeps the king as his prisoner, 324. James's entry into Edinburgh, and a parliament held there, 325. State of ecclesiastical affairs, 326. James, now under the influence of two favourites, of the name of Stuart, who endeavour to undermine Morton's credit, 327. He being suspected of a design to deliver up James to Elizabeth, *ib.* Morton, however, is charged with the murder of Darnley, 328. Elizabeth engages in intrigues to save his life, *ibid.* Her agent Randolph endeavours to excite a rebellion, 329. Morton is tried, and condemned, 330. His confession before his execution, 331. System of ecclesiastical polity, 332. Abolition of the episcopal order, which the court does not acquiesce in, *ib.* The nobles conspire against the king's favourites, Lenox and Arran, 333. The king's person seized, 334. With that of Arran; and Lenox commanded to leave Scotland, 335. The conduct of the conspirators is approved of by a convention of the states, *ib.* Lenox quits Scotland, 336. Mary's anxiety about her son, *ib.* James escapes out of the hands of the conspirators, *ib.* By the

the advice of sir James Melvil, he resolves to proceed with moderation, 337. The discontented nobles refuse to accept his clemency, *ib.* The king pursues another plan, *ib.* Elizabeth interposes in behalf of the conspirators, *ib.* Walsingham's embassy, 338. The clergy favours the conspirators, and irritate the king, 339. The conspirators seize the castle of Stirling, but the king's marching against them makes them fly precipitately into England, 340. Severe laws against the reformed church, *ib.* Elizabeth endeavours to gain the earl of Arran, which she effects, *ib.* Severe proceedings against the banished lords, 341. Mary is treated with great rigour, *ib.* Gray, a new favourite of James's, is sent ambassador to the court of England, enters into Elizabeth's views, and betrays Mary's secrets to her, 342. Parry's conspiracy against Elizabeth, *ib.* Severe statute, which proves fatal to Mary, *ib.* Rigour of her treatment increased, 343. Breach between Mary and her son, 344. Elizabeth resolves to punish Mary, and to gain the king, 345. The banished lords return to Scotland, and are reconciled to the king, 346. A parliament, *ib.* Disgrace of Arran, *ibid.* League with England, 347. Acquittal of Archibald Douglas, *ibid.* Babington's conspiracy against Elizabeth, 348. Does not escape the vigilance of her council, particularly of Walsingham, 349. Foundation established whereon to build the guilt of the queen of Scots, 350. She is charged with Babington's conspiracy, 351. Is carried to Fortheringay-castle, and her domestics and papers are seized, *ib.* Resolution taken to proceed against her by a public trial, 352. She is accordingly tried at Fortheringay, 353. Accusation against her, 354. Her defence, 355. Sentence against her, 356. Irregularities in the trial, 357. The parliament confirm the sentence, *ib.* And petition the queen to have it executed, 358. Mary is treated with the utmost rigour, 359. James renews his solicitations in behalf of his mother, 360. Gray's perfidy on this occasion, *ibid.* Elizabeth's anxiety and dissimulation, *ibid.* Warrant for Mary's execution signed, 361. Mary's behaviour at her death, 362. Her execution, 364. Elizabeth affects to lament Mary's

death, *ibid.* Endeavours to soothe James, *ib.* Disgrace of Gray, 365. The king's marriage with Anne of Denmark, *ib.* James sails for Denmark, *ib.* Sails for Scotland with his queen, 366. Disorders in the kingdom, *ib.* Gowry's conspiracy, 367. The scheme of it strange and inexplicable, 368. The king narrowly escapes, *ib.* Gowry, pierced through the heart, falls down dead, without uttering a word, 369. Nothing found about him but a parchment bag, full of magical characters, and words of enchantment, *ib.* The intent of which hard to be conjectured, *ibid.* Real motives of the two Gowrys entirely unknown, *ib.* Some of their attendants suffer death, 370. Spots's discoveries concerning it, *ib.* Is executed for misprision of treason, 371. Reflections on the whole of this affair, *ib.* Declaration of queen Elizabeth on her death-bed in regard to her successor, 372. James proclaimed king of England, *ibid.* He settles the government of Scotland before he leaves it, *ib.* Conference for concluding an union, 373. The English, never serious in the transaction, cabal together to oppose it in parliament, 374. Wise conduct of James, 375. James visits Scotland, 376. Endeavours to effect a conformity of ecclesiastical worship with that of England, *ibid.* Returns to England, 377. His sickness and death, *ib.*

James VII. oppressions in Scotland by the ministers of Charles II. proceed with increased violence under James, 438.

Image, magical, health of Duff, king of Scotland, said to be affected by, 23.

Indulf succeeds Malcolm in the Scottish throne, 23. Killed in an ambuscade of the Danes, *ib.*

Institutions, political, of James I. of Scotland, 151.

K.

KEITH, the commander of the Catti, a German clan, kills, in single combat, Camus, a Danish general, 30. His shield on that account marked with three bloody strokes, whence the armorial bearing and motto of his descendants, 31.

I N D E X.

Kennedy, bishop of St. Andrew's, the administration committed to, under James III. 178. His death; and character, 179.

Kenneth Kere reigns only three months king of Scotland, 6.

——, the son of Alpin, the first sole king of Scotland, from whom the succession may be clearly deduced, 14. Is intent upon revenging on the Picts his father's death, *ib.* Proceeds to a decisive battle against them, and defeats them with great slaughter, 15. Pursues his advantage, lays siege to the Pictish capital, takes it by surprize, and puts all the inhabitants to the sword, 16. This period generally fixed on as the end of the Pictish government, *ibid.* Kenneth, the author of many salutary laws, called by his own name the laws of Mac Alpin, *ib.*

—— III. the administration of, forms a remarkable period in the Scottish history, 24. Endeavours to reform the corruptions that had gained ground in the preceding reign, and begins with his own court and family, *ib.* Result of the assembly of the states held by him, 25. Gains a signal victory over the Danes, 26. Endeavours to alter the course of the succession by diverting it into his own family, *ib.* Is traiterously assassinated, *ibid.*

Killicrankie, battle of, 438.

Kinnatil, why not admitted into the list of Scottish kings, 5.

Kirkaldy, author of the daring enterprize of seizing the king's party in Stirling, 319. Is besieged in the castle of Edinburgh, which he holds in the queen's name, 321. Surrenders to the English general Drury, and is given up by queen Elizabeth to the regent Morton, who orders him to be hanged, 322.

Knox, and some other preachers, take possession of the pulpits in Edinburgh, 247. Tumult in Edinburgh on account of religion, approved of by Knox, for which, as guilty of high treason, he is tried, but acquitted by his judges, 264.

L.

LANGSIDE-HILL, battle of, decisive of the fate of Mary queen of Scots, 297.

League, solemn, and covenant. See Vane, sir Henry.

Leicester, earl of, proposed as a husband by queen Elizabeth to Mary queen of Scots, 264.

Lenox, earl of, appointed regent of Scotland, under James VI. by the interest of queen Elizabeth, 316. Falls a sacrifice in the contest, for seizing the king's party in Stirling, 319.

Letter, first, translated from the French, of Mary queen of Scots to queen Elizabeth, after her flight into England, 299, & seq.

Letters, said to be of Mary queen of Scots, produced against her, 313. Strong evidence that these letters were forgeries, 315.

Levingston, Alexander, of Callendar, his administration of Scotland, as governor, under James II. 157, & seq. Severities inflicted on his family, 166.

Liturgy of the church of England, tumults against receiving it in Scotland, 386.

Loncarty, battle of, in which Kenneth III. gains a signal victory over the Danes, 26.

Lorn, lord, persecution of, 236.

M.

MACBETH executes his commission under king Duncan with great valour and success, 33. In conjunction with Banquo, breaks into the Danish camp, and puts all to the sword, previously intoxicated by liquors infused with noxious herbs, *ib.* Murders Duncan, and usurps his throne, 34. Procures Banquo to be murdered, 35. His treatment of Macduff's wife and children, *ib.* Is killed by Macduff, 36.

Macduff. See Macbeth, and Malcolm.

Malcolm succeeds as king of Scots, upon the resignation of Constantine III. 22. Murdered by a conspiracy of robbers, 23.

—— II. recognized as king, and invested with the crown by the states, 28. He confers upon his grandson Duncan the principality of Cumberland, *ibid.* His several encounters with the Danes, 29. At length completely defeats them, 30. Is again invaded by the Danes, who are discomfited in a decisive engagement, 31. Peace with the Danes, *ib.* Malcolm involved in difficulties, on account of the

I N D E X.

- the principality of Cumberland, 32. Peace puts an end to them, *ib.* Malcolm murdered, *ib.*
- Malcolm III. crowned at Scone, and recognized king of Scotland, 36. His gratitude to Macduff, *ib.* Involved in a war with England on account of harbouring Edgar Atheling, 37. In his second invasion of England, commits great depredations, 38. Which are soon after retaliated by William the Conqueror, 39. Peace with England introduces among the Scots a total alteration of manners, *ib.* Consequence of these innovations, 40. Malcolm again invades England, and upon what account, 41. Is killed, 42.
- IV. grandson to David, succeeds him in the throne of Scotland, 48. Henry II. of England, disturbs his government, *ib.* Malcolm's subjects dissatisfied with his concessions to Henry, 49. He attends Henry in his unfortunate campaign in Provence, and receives from him the honour of knighthood, 50. On his return to Scotland finds his subjects extremely discontented, which produces some insurrections, *ib.* He quells them, and his military conduct appears to have secured him in tranquillity, 51. Dies of the effects of a deep depression of spirits, *ib.*
- Malduin, a king of Scotland, upon bad terms with his Saxon neighbours, and strangled by his wife, 7.
- Mar, earl of, brother to James III. of Scotland, reports concerning his death, 184.
- Mar, earl of, succeeds Lenox, in the regency of Scotland, under James VI. 320. Thwarted in his measures by Morton, sickens, and dies, 321.
- Margaret, daughter of Margaret, queen of Norway, recognized by the states of Scotland as their queen, 69. Negotiations about marrying her, 70. Her death, 74.
- daughter to Henry VII. of England, married to James IV. of Scotland, 205.
- Marriage of Mary, queen of Scots, negotiations in regard to, 262. Views of queen Elizabeth in that respect, 263. Negotiations again carried on, 264. Earl of Leicester proposed to her by queen Elizabeth, *ib.* Lord Darnley makes an impression on her at their first interview, 265. Queen Elizabeth declares against her marriage with lord Darnley, and sends Throgmorton to obstruct it, *ib.* A convention of the nobles approve the marriage, and it takes place accordingly, 267.
- Mary of Guise, mother to Mary, queen of Scots, takes a considerable share in the direction of affairs, 237. Obtains the office of regent, 239. Influenced by the princes of Lorraine, alters her conduct in regard to the Protestants, 244, & seq. Is deprived of her office, 251. Her death, 253.
- queen of Scots, birth of, and state of the kingdom, 229. Ambition of cardinal Beaton, 230. Earl of Arran chosen regent, *ib.* Schemes of Henry VIII. in regard to Scotland, 231. The regent loses much of the public confidence by consenting to them, *ib.* Beaton engrosses the chief direction of affairs, 132. Henry invades Scotland, *ib.* A peace concluded, 233. Murder of Beaton, 234. Troops arrive from France, *ib.* New breach with England, 235. Invasion of Scotland by the English, *ib.* Battle of Pinkie, in which the Scots, after a brave defence, are at length universally routed, 236. Mary of Guise, the queen-dowager, takes a considerable share in the direction of affairs, 237. Resolution to send the queen to France, *ib.* She is accordingly conveyed to France by the fleet which brought over their forces, 238. The Scots become jealous of the French, *ib.* The queen-dowager aspires to the office of regent, *ib.* Which she obtains, 239. Insolent conduct of the French, 240. The queen's marriage with the dauphin, 241. Artifices of the French in the marriage-treaty, *ib.* The marriage celebrated with great pomp, *ib.* The French king persuades queen Mary to assume the title of queen of England, 242. Scheme of the princes of Lorraine to facilitate this view taking place, 243. The regent hereupon alters her conduct with regard to the Protestants, 244. She summons the preachers to appear before her, *ib.* Breaks a promise on which they had relied, *ib.* An insurrection at Perth, *ib.* The regent marches against the rioters, 245. A treaty concluded, *ib.* Fruitless conduct of the queen-regent, *ib.* The Protestants again take arms, 246. A second treaty violated, *ib.* Knox, and some other preachers, take possession

possession of the pulpits in Edinburgh, 247. The queen-regent amuses the leaders of the congregation with negotiations, *ib.* A new treaty, 248. On the accession of Francis II. to the crown of France, the princes of Lorraine resume the chief direction of French affairs, *ib.* Troops arrive from France, and fortify Leith, 249. This the Protestants remonstrate against, *ib.* The regent disregards their remonstrances, *ib.* They have recourse to arms, 250. The queen-regent deprived of her office, 251. The congregation involved in difficulties, *ib.* They apply to queen Elizabeth, *ib.* The lords of the congregation apply again to queen Elizabeth, 252. The queen-regent sends her French troops against them, *ib.* The English fleet arrives to their assistance, *ib.* The English army lays siege to Leith, *ib.* Death of the queen-regent, 253. Articles of a treaty on the part of Francis and Mary, engaging to renounce any title to England, *ib.* A parliament, *ib.* An ambassador sent by this parliament to France, 254. Death of Francis II. affects the Scots with great joy, *ib.* The queen invited to return to Scotland, *ib.* Origin of the discord between her and Elizabeth 255. Mary begins her voyage, 256. Arrives in Scotland, *ib.* Having escaped the English fleet, which lay in wait to intercept her, 257. State of the kingdom at that time, *ib.* Mass commanded to be celebrated in the chapel of her palace, which the Protestants endeavoured to obstruct, *ib.* Proclamation, favourable to the Protestants, 258. She employs only Protestants likewise in the administration, *ib.* Disclaims any right to the crown of England during the life of Elizabeth, and the lives of her posterity, if, in failure of the e, she was declared next heir by act of parliament, *ib.* Restrains the licentiousness of the borderers, 259. Her conciliating conduct, *ib.* Dissension between the earls. Hamilton and Bothwell, *ib.* The queen sets out on a progress into the northern parts of the kingdom, 260. Huntley breaks out into open rebellion against her, 261. Defeated and killed, 262. Sir John Gordon beheaded, *ib.* Negotiations in regard to the queen's marriage, *ib.* Views of Elizabeth in that respect, 263. Tumult in Edinburgh,

on account of religion, approved of by Knox, for which he is tried and acquitted, 264. Negotiations in regard to the queen's marriage again carried on, *ib.* The earl of Leicester proposed to her by Elizabeth, *ib.* Lord Darnley makes an impression on her at their first interview, and she determines to make him the partner of her bed and throne, 265. Elizabeth declares against the queen's marriage with lord Darnley, *ib.* Sends Throgmorton to obstruct it, *ib.* A convention of the nobles approve of the marriage, *ib.* Schemes of Darnley and Murray against each other, 266. The queen celebrates her marriage with Darnley, 267. Marches against Murray and his associates, *ib.* They are obliged to retire into England, 268. Where they are neglected by Elizabeth, *ib.* Mary's declarations concerning the exiled lords, 269. Fatal alteration in Mary's sentiments in regard to the Protestants, 270. Darnley loses the queen's affection, 271. Some account of David Rizio, and how he rose into favour with the queen, *ib.* He is basely murdered, 272. The conspirators confine the queen, *ib.* She gains over the king, and makes her escape, *ib.* The conspirators against Rizio fly into England, *ib.* Liberty procured them to return home, *ib.* Her resentment against Darnley not so easily obliterated, *ib.* The earl of Bothwell grows into great credit with the queen, for the support he had afforded her against the murderers of David Rizio, 273. Birth of James VI. *ib.* The breach between the queen and Darnley becomes every day more apparent, *ib.* He resolves to leave Scotland, *ib.* The queen marches to the borders, where, ever since her marriage, there had been acts of hostility, 274. Bothwell, her lieutenant, wounded in executing her commands, is visited by her in that condition, 275. The re-establishment of the religion she professed, becomes her favourite passion, *ib.* Her aversion to Darnley seems altogether incurable, *ib.* Proposals of a divorce between her and Darnley, which she rejects, 276. Darnley's capricious behaviour at the baptism of the prince, *ib.* He falls sick at Glasgow, 277. Mary has him conveyed to Edinburgh for the conveniency of being better attended, *ib.* The house he lay in is blown

I N D E X.

blown up with gunpowder, 278. Bothwell, not only suspected, but named as the murderer, *ib.* Different views in this affair of Bothwell and Murray, *ib.* Attempts made by the queen to discover the conspirators, imagining the enterprize had been intended against herself as well as Darnley, 279. The queen's enemies maliciously assiduous to defame her, 280. A day is appointed for the trial of Bothwell, 281. And a check given to the calumnies against the queen, *ib.* The earl of Lenox, Darnley's father, afraid to assist on the trial, *ib.* Trial of Bothwell, *ib.* He is acquitted, 282. History of a famous bond, in which the marriage of Bothwell and the queen is proposed, *ib.* It is subscribed, 283. Misconduct of Mary, *ib.* Murray pays a visit to Elizabeth, in his way to France, *ib.* Bothwell conveys the queen to Dunbar, 284. He is divorced from his wife, *ib.* He brings Mary back to Edinburgh, and receives her pardon, *ib.* Proclamation of the banns of marriage between the queen and Bothwell, 285. Refused as illegal, by John Craig, a minister of Edinburgh, *ib.* The marriage performed publicly according to the rites of the protestant church, and privately accordingly to those of the popish, 286. Machinations of the earl of Murray and his party, *ib.* The queen and Bothwell thrown into great consternation by the first accounts of this league, 287. Her proclamation thereupon, *ib.* Her army marches against the confederates, 288. But she is reduced to the necessity of putting herself into the hands of those who had taken arms against her, *ib.* Bothwell is obliged to fly, 289. The queen is imprisoned in Lochleven, 290. The confederated lords assume regal power, *ib.* A party forms itself in behalf of the queen, *ib.* The court of France interferes in the affairs of Scotland, 291. The earl of Murray engages himself to the king of France to assist the queen, *ib.* Queen Elizabeth takes a concern in her affairs, *ib.* But her ambassador is denied admittance to her, *ib.* The confederates oblige the queen to resign the government, 292. See James VI.

Mass commanded by Mary, queen of Scots, to be celebrated in the chapel

of her palace, which the Protestants endeavour to obstruct, 257.

Matilda, sister to Edgar, king of Scotland, upon what account married to Henry I. of England, 45.

Meatæ, establishment of their kingdom in Scotland, 4.

Melvil, sir James, advises James VI. to proceed with moderation against the conspirators, who had seized his person, 337. His distress and grief at the execution of Mary, queen of Scots, 362.

Montrose, his progress and victories against the covenanters in Scotland, 419, & seq. Is defeated at length, and obliged to fly, 422. Made prisoner, and executed, 431.

Morton, earl of, appointed regent of Scotland, under James VI. by the support of queen Elizabeth, 321. His administration becomes odious, and a plot being formed against him, he resigns his office and retires, 323. Resumes his former authority, and keeps the king as his prisoner, 324. His credit is undermined, and is suspected of a design to deliver up James to Elizabeth, 327. Is besides charged with being concerned in the murder of Darnley, 328. Intrigues of queen Elizabeth to save his life, *ib.* Is tried and condemned, 330. His confession before his execution, 331.

St. Mungo, or Kentigern, celebrated in the ecclesiastical history of his time, 4.

Murdac, a king of Scotland, and great benefactor to the church, 8.

Murder of James III. of Scotland, particulars of the, 199.

Murray, afterwards regent, under James VI. forms schemes against Darnley, to obstruct his marriage with Mary, queen of Scots, 266. The queen marches against him and his associates, and they are obliged to retire into England, 268. Is suspected to be concerned in the murder of lord Darnley, 278. His views different in the affair from those of Bothwell, *ib.* He pays queen Elizabeth a visit in his way to France, 283. His machinations, and those of his party, 286. Reduces queen Mary to the necessity of putting herself into the hands of those who had taken arms against her, 290. Engages himself to the king of France to assist her, yet with his confederates obliges her to resign the government, and is chosen regent, 292.

I N D E X.

292. For the rest of his transactions,
see James VI.

N.

NORFOLK, duke of, his character, 316. Progress of his marriage with Mary, queen of Scots, for which he is committed to the Tower, 317. Is set at liberty upon a promise of proceeding no farther in his pretensions, 318. Engages in a more secret scheme for the same purpose, for which he is tried and executed, ib.

Norham, conferences at, 78.

Northumberland never recovered its importance after the defeat of its king Egfrid by the Scots and Picts, 7.

O.

OTTERBURN, battle of, 134.

P.

PARRY's conspiracy against queen Elizabeth, 342.

Parties, state of, in Scotland, in the reign of Charles I. 384.

— of duke Hamilton and Montrose, attached to the service of king Charles I. 418.

Pestilence desolates all Europe, except the Picts and Scots, 7.

Pictish kingdom, what tracts it was said to comprehend, 12. Subverted, 16.

Picts, inhabitants of the eastern and midland parts of Scotland, 2. Pursue a different interest to the Scots, and help the Saxons, 3.

Piercy, Hotspur, and Douglas, some account of their duel, 133. Which occasions the battle of Otterburn, 134.

Pilgrimages, superstition of James IV. of Scotland, in performing, 206.

Pinkey, battle of, in which the Scots are at length universally routed, 236.

Plague visits Scotland, 125.

Polity, ecclesiastical, system of, in Scotland, in the reign of James VI. 332.

Presage of James V. of Scotland, when near his death, of what might in future happen in regard to the fate of his kingdom, 228.

Presbyterians, fines inflicted on them, 236.

Prince-royal, of Scotland, starved, 138.

The king, his father, long ignorant of this detestable murder, 139.

Protestants, proclamation favourable to the, by Mary, queen of Scots, 258. They only are likewise employed in the admistratration, ib. Fatal alteration of her sentiments in regard to them, 270.

R.

RANDOLPH, Thomas, earl of Murray, regent, under David II. of Scotland, character of, 112.

Records of Scotland carried off by Edward I. to England, 85.

Remorgny, his execrable villainy, 137.

Right to the crown of England, during the life of Elizabeth, and the lives of her posterity, disclaimed by Mary, queen of Scots, if in failure thereof, she is declared next heir by act of parliament, 258.

Rippon, treaty at, 411.

Rizio, David, some account of, and how he rose into favour with Mary, queen of Scots, 271. He is basely murdered, 272.

Robert II. (Stuart) nephew to David II. succeeds him in the throne of Scotland, his right being acknowledged in an assembly of the states, 130. He concludes a treaty with France, which Edward III. of England considers as the prelude of an invasion from Scotland, ib. The Scottish borderers accordingly break the truce which was to subsist for fourteen years, and surprise Berwick, 131. The English invade Scotland, ib. And the Scots England, 132. A truce, ib. The Scots invade Ireland and the Isle of Man, and return with their spoils to Scotland, 133. Resolution taken in a parliament at Aberdeen to make a double invasion of England, ib. Duel of Hotspur Piercy and Douglas, ib. Occasions the battle of Otterburn, in which the English were routed, 134. Death of Robert Stuart, 135.

— III. who changed his name from John, as more auspicious, succeeds his father Robert, and is crowned at Scone, 135. Battle of two clans, 136. Dukes first created in Scotland, 137. A conspiracy, ib. The prince-royal starved, 138. The king a long time ignorant of his son's detestable murder, 139. The truce expiring, the Scots renew the war with

I N D E X.

with England, but are totally routed at Homeldon, *ib.* The prince of Scotland sent to France, but is intercepted by the English, *ib.* The king's agony of grief upon that account proves mortal to him, *ib.* His character and issue, 140.

Romans take their final leave of Britain, 2.

Rofs, earl of, subdued, 173.

Rothsay, duke of, heads the rebels against his father, James III. 197.

Roxburg castle taken and demolished, 177.

S.

SARK, battle of, 166.

Scotland, history of, from the earliest times to the reduction of the Picts by Kenneth Mac Alpin, 1—17. From the death of Kenneth Mac Alpin, to the death of Alexander III. 17—69. From the death of Alexander III. to the death of the regent duke of Albany, 69—143. From the death of the duke of Albany to the death of James V. 143—229. From the death of James V. to the accession of James VI. to the crown of England, 229—372. From the accession of James to the crown of England, to the Restoration, and thence to the Revolution, &c. 438.

—, state of, from the death of Alexander III. 68, to the death of Edward I. of England, 98. Before the death of Alexander, it appeared that Edward I. had formed pretensions upon a paramount power to the crown of Scotland, *ib.* And at the time of Alexander's death the Scots were acquiring a new character, 69. Upon the death of Margaret, queen of Norway, her daughter is recognized by the states of Scotland as their queen, *ib.* And a resolution is passed by the same, to exclude not only Edward, but likewise Eric, their queen's father, 70. Negotiation between Eric and Edward about queen Margaret's marriage, *ib.* Terms agreed to, *ib.* Insincerity of the negotiation, 71. Proceedings of the Scots, 72. Conditions of the marriage exhibited, 73. English party in Scotland, 74. Death of the young queen of Scotland, *ib.* Measures of Edward, 75. State of parties, 76. They chuse Edward to be their umpire, *ib.* Conduct of Edward, 77.

His unfair claim, *ib.* Conference at Norham, 78. Edward's state of the question, 79. Bruce excluded from the succession, *ib.* He brings a farther plea, *ib.* Judgment given for Baliol, who is crowned at Scone, 80. He performs his homage to Edward for the crown of Scotland in the most ample terms, *ib.* Edward appoints certain officers of his own to reside in Scotland, and superintend his affairs, *ib.* Haughtiness of these English judges, 81. Indignities offered to Baliol, *ib.* Negotiation between Baliol and the court of France, *ib.* Treaty between Scotland and France, 82. Baliol resigns the government, *ib.* The English driven out of Scotland, *ib.* Baliol renounces his allegiance to Edward, who courts Bruce, 83. The Scots invade England, *ib.* Edward takes Berwick, 84. Defeats the Scots, and takes Dunbar, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling, *ib.* Baliol's submission to Edward, *ib.* Edward carries away or destroys every monument, literary as well as others, of the ancient independency of Scotland, 85. Leaves earl Warrenne governor of Scotland, *ib.* The Scots greatly oppressed, *ib.* First appearance of Wallace, 86. The Scots, at his instigation, take arms, *ib.* Warrenne enters Scotland with forty thousand men, *ib.* Wallace obtains a complete victory over the English, 87. Is chosen protector of Scotland, *ib.* Invades England, and returns laden with spoils and crowned with glory, to his own country, *ib.* Edward hastens over from France, and marches northwards with an army of near a hundred thousand men, *ib.* Wallace, sensible of the dissatisfaction of the nobility to serve under him, resigns his authority, retaining only the command over that body of his followers who refused to act under any other leader, 88. The chief power then devolved on the steward of Scotland and Cummin of Badenoch, *ib.* Their army is broken, and driven off the field with great slaughter, by Edward, at Falkirk, *ib.* Conference after this battle between young Bruce and Wallace, 89. Effect of Wallace's noble sentiments on the mind of Bruce, *ib.* Edward, for want of provisions, returns to England, *ib.* Wallace harrahs his rear, *ib.* Cummin appears to be

now

I N D E X.

Now the legal governor of Scotland under Baliol, but the part he acted was pusillanimous, *ib.* The English are driven out of all the chief strong holds of Scotland, except Edinburgh, Stirling, and Berwick, 90. Edward marches again for Scotland, *ib.* But is unable to proceed by his great barons withdrawing their followers from the expedition, 91. He again, however, invades Scotland, *ib.* Defeats the Scots, and besieges the castle of Stirling, *ib.* Which makes an honourable capitulation, 92. Edward receives a mandate from the pope to desist from his claim to Scotland, *ib.* Continuance of the war, 93. Three English armies defeated by the Scots in one day, 94. Edward enters Scotland with a great army, 95. His great successes, *ib.* Strives to make his acquisition durable to the crown of England, *ib.* Employs every art to discover the retreat of Wallace, who is betrayed and executed, 96. His barbarous policy serves only to enrage the Scots, and a new and more fortunate leader in the person of Robert Bruce, conducts them to liberty and vengeance, *ib.* Bruce's engagements with Cummin, 97. His narrow escape from London, *ib.* Arrives in Scotland, and kills Cummin for his treachery, 98. Attacks with success the dispersed bodies of the English, and gets possession of many castles, *ib.* Is solemnly crowned at Scone, but soon after defeated at Methven, is obliged to take shelter in the Western Isles, *ib.* Edward once more heading an expedition to Scotland, dies at Carlisle, *ib.* Scottish possessions, what tracts they were said to comprehend, distinct from the Pictish dominions, 12. Session, court of, in Scotland, institution of the, 227. Solvaith, or Selva, a king of Scotland, chiefly remarkable for being attacked almost during his whole reign of twenty-one years, by a violent gout or rheumatism, 10. Solway-Moss, road of, a battle so called, wherein the Scots surrendered without striking a blow, 228. Sprot's discoveries concerning Gowrie's conspiracy, 370. Is executed for misprision of treason, 371. State of Scotland from the death of Alexander to the accession of the Stuart family, 69, & seq. — at the birth of its queen Mary, 229.

State of Scotland at the time of the arrival from France of its queen Mary, 257.

— after the defeat of Montrose and Hamilton, 427. And the execution of Argyle and Guthrie, 435.

Statute, severe, which proves fatal to Mary, queen of Scots, 342.

Stone, famous (now to be seen in Westminster abbey), which the Scots regarded as the palladium of their monarchy, 16. It was carefully preserved at Scone, and carried off by Edward I. 85.

Story, more ridiculous than incredible, of a stratagem adopted by king Kenneth of Scotland to induce his nobles to engage in a war against the Picts, 14.

Stuart, sir James, commonly called the Black Knight of Lorn, marries the queen-mother of James II. 159. Is imprisoned with her, and upon what account, but released, *ib.* His issue by her, 165. Is taken at sea by Flemish pirates, and dies in confinement, *ib.*

T.

TEST-ACT, 437.

Testament, political, of Robert Bruce, 111.

Thane, title of, changed into that of earl, 36.

Treaty between Achaius of Scotland and Charlemagne of France, conditions of, 11. Suspected to be a French forgery, *ib.*

Trial of Mary, queen of Scots, 353. Accusation against her, 354. Her defence, 355. Sentence, 356. Execution, 364.

U.

UNION of Scotland with England, conference for concluding it, 373. The English not serious in the transaction, 374. Concluded under the auspices of queen Anne, 441.

V.

VANE, sir Henry, the younger, persuades the Scots to frame a solemn league and covenant, 415.

W.

WALLACE, William, first appearance of, to deliver his country from the oppressive dominion of the English, 85. The Scots, at his instigation, take arms, 86. He obtains a complete victory over the English, 87. Chosen protector of Scotland, he invades England, ib. And returns loaded with spoils, ib. Becomes an object of envy to the nobility, and upon that account voluntarily resigns his authority, 88. His share in the battle of Falkirk, ib. Conference between him and young Bruce, ib. Harraßes the rear of Edward I. in his return to England, 89. Is betrayed, sent prisoner to London, and there executed, 96.

Walsingham, his embassy to Scotland, 238. Babington's conspiracy does not escape his vigilance, 349.

Warrenne, earl, left governor of Scotland by Edward I. 85. Enters Scotland with forty thousand men, 86. Is completely defeated by Wallace, 87. And is obliged to evacuate the kingdom, ib.

Westmoreland and Northumberland, earls of, their rebellion against queen Elizabeth, and upon what account, 317.

William, though labouring under very disadvantageous circumstances, succeeds his brother Malcolm IV. as king of Scotland, 51. He pays homage for his English estates, ib.

Accompanies Henry II. to France, returns, and is resolved, from the rebellion of Henry's sons, to embrace the opportunity of obliging him to do him justice, ib. Result of this resolution, 53. Henry disconcerts all the schemes of the confederacy, ib. William, however, renews the war, and invades England, 54. Is made prisoner, ib. Convention at Falaise, 55. William is set at liberty, ib. The convention at Falaise confirmed by the Scottish nobles and great landholders, who swear fealty to Henry, and put themselves and their country under his protection, 56. National council assembled at Holyrood-house, 57. Marriage of William, ib. Richard's accession to the crown of England a fortunate epoch to the Scots, by his releasing them from their dependency, 58. Gratitude of William to Richard, ib. Who, however, becomes high in his demands on Richard, 59. Meeting of William with king John, 60. A quarrel between them, 61. Peace, ib. Death of William, ib.

III. in his reign viscount Dundee is the only prop of James's cause in Scotland, 438. Battle of Killikrankie, ib. Episcopacy abolished, 439. Massacre of Glenco, 440. Inquiry made into this massacre, 441. Scots establishment at Darien frustrated, ib.

Wood, an experienced mariner, his affair in attacking some English ships of war, 201.

SECRET

[The page contains extremely faint, illegible text.]

[The page contains extremely faint, illegible markings.]





9233.

HMod

M6897

Author

Title Modern [part of an] universal history. Vol. 41.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
LIBRARY

Do not
remove
the card
from this
Pocket.

Acme Library Card Pocket
Under Pat. "Ref. Index File."
Made by LIBRARY BUREAU

